

THE
INDUSTRIAL
SITUATION

FRANK TRACY CARLTON



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The Industrial Situation



The Industrial Situation

*Its Effect Upon
The Home, The School
The Wage Earner and The Employer*

By

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IN commending this volume the Federal Council Commission on the Church and Social Service does so for the purpose of bringing to the churches a thoughtful consideration of the problems of modern industry.

This authorization does not relate to matters of interpretation in detail, which are, of necessity, in large measure the responsibility of the author.

For the Commission,

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,

Secretary of the Council.

Introduction

THE social question is the outstanding question of our day. In the providence of God and the processes of history we are brought face to face with this question. The issues involved are here to challenge the intelligence and the faith of men. The social question includes the question how to secure a more just and equitable distribution of the resources of society, the question how to bring larger opportunity and more happiness into the lives of many, the question how to moralize wealth and humanize industrial processes, the question how to bring the disinherited into the family circle and give them an heir's portion in life, the question how men can live together on terms of justice and brotherhood. These questions cannot be evaded. It is for the churches to give men the clue to their solution.

That the churches are earnestly seeking to indicate their solution is one of the most hopeful signs of our times. Especially are the churches at present concerned with what is perhaps the most insistent phase of the social problem—the problem of industry. Much has been said and much has been written concerning the workers' alienation from the churches and the churches' lack of sympathy with the workers. How far

these complaints have been justified in the past we need not here consider ; the fact is that to-day the churches are seeking to express the mind of the Master upon questions which vitally affect the welfare of the workers and of society at large.

Various religious bodies in this country have already formulated declarations of industrial principles. More significant than any of these is the united declaration put forth at Philadelphia in 1908, and reaffirmed at Chicago in 1912, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing several million Christians. This platform, which embodies what has been called the "social faith" of the churches, has been ratified by several of the leading denominations of the country.¹

"The Churches must stand :

"1. For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"2. For the protection of the family, by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, and proper housing.

"3. For the fullest possible development for every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation.

"4. For the abolition of child labor.

"5. For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

"6. For the abatement and prevention of poverty.

"7. For the protection of the individual and so-

¹See "Christian Unity at Work," Macfarland. Published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

ciety from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

"8. For the conservation of health.

"9. For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality.

"10. For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, and for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

"11. For suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.

"12. For the right of employers and employees alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes.

"13. For a release from employment one day in seven.

"14. For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

"15. For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

"16. For a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised."

As will be seen, most of the "planks" of this platform have to do with aspects of modern industrial reform. Valuable though they are as expressions of the churches' changed attitude towards labor, they are scarcely specific enough for the average reader. In order that the various Christian bodies of this country may take effect-

ive action looking towards the reform of industrial conditions of the present and the institution of justice in the relations between the employer and the employee, it is essential that these different constituencies should know just what are the facts concerning our modern mechanism for the production and the distribution of the necessities of life.

A clear statement of a problem is a first step towards its solution. In the following pages Prof. Frank T. Carlton, who has already contributed a valuable study of "The History and Problems of Organized Labor," attempts to show the basic factors and the principal phases of the recent industrial situation. The author has endeavored to put the facts in a way which should prove helpful to the average member of the Christian Church who may have had no opportunity to learn the facts at first hand. His statement of the problem may be recommended as both clear and concise.

It is hoped that the summaries and questions appended to the various sections may prove of value in adapting the book to the purposes of study classes as well as of private readers.

S. Z. BATTEN,

F. M. CROUCH,

Special Committee on Publication.

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I

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDUSTRY

SOcial PROGRESS and the Work of the World.—Social progress is vitally and intimately connected with changes in the methods of doing the world's work. Throughout the history of mankind discoveries, inventions, new methods of getting a living, and new ways of travelling and communicating have ever caused cataclysmic changes in human society. The discovery of the use of fire, of the smelting of metals, the invention of gun-powder, of the mariner's compass, and of the steam engine, each preceded and caused sweeping social and industrial changes. The Reformation is the child of gun-powder and printing; the remarkable democratic upheavals of the nineteenth century, of the Industrial Revolution. Not one of the great reform or progressive movements of history can be adequately explained or clearly understood without turning the attention to the industrial revolution which preceded it and ushered it upon the more spectacular stage of political history. The unrest, the progressivism, the radicalism of to-day can only be explained, understood, and intelligently dealt with by those who are able and willing patiently to study the Industrial Situation of to-day and of yesterday.

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Human society in recent generations has presented to the student of sociology and of history a bewildering moving picture show. It has often seemed that nothing is stable, that everything is undergoing modification, upheaval, or rejection. We are often tempted to cry out passionately against the new and to cling valiantly to the old because it is old. Methods of doing the world's work and of controlling the world's wealth have been changing in recent decades with unprecedented rapidity, and, consequently, social, political, legal, and religious readjustments are not only imperative but unfortunately difficult of orderly attainment. A fragile article, subjected to sudden stresses and strains, is likely to crack; human society subjected to rapid industrial modifications is in danger of a revolution unless wise and progressive leadership eases the strain by adapting the political, social, educational, and religious institutions to the new situation. To preserve the *status quo* is impossible; the alternatives are chaos or progress along many lines.

2. The Relation between Social Progress and the Work of the World during the Last Century.—Especially during the last century and a half the intimate relation between industrial evolution and social progress has been forced upon the attention of all thoughtful observers. The occidental peoples have been transformed. Rural life, isolation, the domestic system of industry, and non-specialized work, are replaced by urban life, interdependence, the factory system,

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and minute subdivision of labor. The individuals and nations of the globe have been brought closely in touch with each other. The fighter has been displaced by the financier, the isolated worker by the trade unionist, the partnership by the giant corporation, the local by the world market, the stage-coach by the Pullman, and the sickle by the harvester. These kaleidoscopic changes in industry are distinctly reflected into the home, social, and political life of the community. New laws, new governmental forms, modified relations between husband and wife and between children and parents, new social imperatives, and new relations between social classes are some of the visible fruits of industrial transformation. Much of the current discussion of reform movements of various kinds is vitiated because adequate attention is not paid to the fundamental forces which are producing the visible social changes.

In the study of the political, educational, religious, or ethical problems of to-day, two important facts, often neglected by the student who is unacquainted with the history of industrial evolution, must be given careful consideration. In the first instance, the social environment, including the sum-total of influences which bear upon the life of the individual, has been enlarged. People, intelligence, goods, now come from or go to distant parts of the earth quickly, regularly, and surely. The world of the twentieth century is one vast neighborhood; no dark, unknown

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continents remain upon the map. In the second place, specialization of industry has tended to confine the life and activity of the vast majority of workers of all grades within very narrow grooves. While modern methods of communication and transportation, world markets and the multiplicity of industrial products offer opportunities to broaden the mental horizon and tend to differentiate the demands of individuals for necessities, comforts, and luxuries, occupations have been specialized and subdivided until the life of the individual is cramped. Earlier forms of industry gave the worker a relatively broad outlook, and did not force him into a rigid routine. Our daily work and home environment usually tend under modern conditions to astigmatize our view at the time when democracy and world unity should thrive. This is the grim and forbidding paradox of modern industrial life.

In the earlier centuries, work was necessarily drudgery because of the difficulty in satisfying the necessities of men. To-day with the aid of steam and innumerable steel and iron assistants, production has been multiplied many fold. It has been observed that machinery has taken the soul out of industry, that it has taken away the joy of working. But the condition of the wage earner in the handicraft or pre-machinery age, measured according to the standards of to-day, was distressing. However, no improvement comparable with the great increase in productivity has as yet taken place. With progress,

poverty still remains, the sky-scraper and the mansion stand beside the sweat-shop and the hovel, and the idle rich surfeited with an excess of leisure present a marked contrast to the twelve-hour-per-day, seven-day-per-week, steel worker. The fundamental industrial problem of to-day is that of putting joy and self-expression into industrial processes, or at least that of reducing drudgery to a minimum. And the fundamental social problem of to-day is that of giving to each individual the opportunity to live a healthful, joyous, and useful life.

3. **The Birth of Modern Industry.**—The business and financial methods of ancient Rome and of the medieval cities presented many features similar to those found in modern times. But modern industry may not inaccurately be said to date from the opening of the Industrial Revolution in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. Briefly stated, the Industrial Revolution means the great and rapid change produced in the methods of manufacturing and transporting goods by the introduction of machinery and water or steam power to supplement hand tools and the muscular strength of men, women, and children. Machinery was first used in the manufacture of cotton goods in spinning the thread and weaving the threads into cotton fabrics. England was the first country in the world to utilize the factory system of manufacture involving the use of power and machinery. The first factories in England and the United States were

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cotton factories. In Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787, was established the first American factory. This was an unsuccessful venture. The first successful factory was built by Samuel Slater at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. Mr. Slater is often called the "father of American manufacture." The early factories were prepared only to spin the raw cotton into threads. It was not until 1814 that Francis Lowell invented the power loom and established the first American factory for the conversion of raw cotton into cloth. The factory system in this country may, therefore, be said to be one hundred years old.

4. **The Worker of a Century Ago.**—During the first years of our national life, the all-important occupation was farming. But the early farmer was also an artizan. He fashioned his own tools and implements, made the rude vehicles and harnesses needed. The farmer was also a house builder and furniture maker. The family made the clothing and prepared the food. The wife made the tallow candles which provided light, and the tallow came from animals raised and slaughtered on the frontier farm.

The average American worker of the pre-factory period was a jack-of-all-trades. He performed numerous tasks each and every day ; and the kind of tasks to be performed varied with the weather and the season of the year. His hours of work were long but there was little of routine. On the other hand, the early American worker lived of necessity an isolated life. He knew

little or nothing of the great world outside. Means of transportation and communication were still very primitive. The railway, the steamboat, and the telegraph were unknown. The work of the average American of a century ago tended to bring him into contact with many kinds of productive activity, but his isolation from the outside world tended to give him a narrow and provincial view of the world.

5. Growth of Manufacture before the Civil War.—The close of the War of 1812 was followed by a period of depression which continued until after 1820. From the time of recovery from the effects of this period of hard times until 1860, the growth of factories proceeded quite steadily, and factory industry began to assume larger and larger proportions relative to the handicraft form of industry. Mill towns and industrial cities developed and absorbed larger and larger percentages of the entire population. In Massachusetts, for example, according to the Census of 1820 over 33,000 persons were engaged in manufacture ; by 1840, the number had increased to slightly more than 85,000. But during the same period the number reported as engaged in commerce decreased, and the number engaged in agriculture increased about forty per cent. In the three New England States, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, during the same period, 1820–1840, the number of persons engaged in agriculture increased approximately one-fourth ; those engaged in commerce decreased about one-third ;

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and those engaged in manufacture and trade increased nearly two and one-half times. In 1831, the capital invested in cotton factories was approximately \$41,000,000 and the number of employees, 62,000; in 1850, the capital invested had increased to \$76,000,000 and the number of employees to 95,000. In the production of woolen goods, a similar increase took place.

Among the important inventions and innovations of the decades immediately preceding the Civil War are many which practically revolutionized industrial methods; for example, the general introduction of the power loom, the use of the hot-air blast in iron smelting, the introduction of anthracite coal into the same industry, the inventions of the mower, the reaper, the sewing-machine, and the friction match, the introduction of the steam printing-press, the use of the screw propeller on steamboats, and the invention of the steam hammer for steel working. Methods of transportation and communication changed even more completely than did those employed in manufacture. The Erie Canal was completed in 1825. The succeeding ten or fifteen years saw a rapid development of canal systems in the Northern States. The use of steamboats, which began before 1820, increased at a rapid pace. But still more important was the development of the railway system. The first steam railway had thirteen miles open for traffic in 1830. In 1840, the mileage of the steam railways of the United States was 2,640; in 1850, 9,021; in

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1860, 30,635. The first telegraph line was constructed in 1844.

6. **The Second Industrial Revolution.**—The relatively brief period of the Civil War may be said to have ushered in a second industrial revolution; it hastened the opening of a new industrial epoch. Before the War industrial establishments had been small, the rural districts were dotted with many small factories, and the railways were short. But in the sixties began a very pronounced movement towards large-scale industry and centralized industrial control. Capital, railways, manufactories, mercantile houses, and urban communities grew rapidly. The War caused an unprecedented drain of workers from the farm, the office, and the shop. Into the ranks of the army went the best workers of the North. An abnormal and standardized demand arose for supplies to feed and equip the soldiers. The scarcity of workers on farm and in factory, and the fact that the new demand was, in a large measure, for goods of a uniform quality, hastened the introduction of machinery. A demand for standardized articles makes large-scale industry particularly advantageous. The woolen industry grew at a phenomenal rate because of the demand for army clothing and because the importation of cotton from the South was cut off. The manufacture of shoes passed from the small shop to the modern factory. The amount of capital invested in the manufacture of iron increased nearly six-fold in the decade of the sixties. Twice as many

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mowers and reapers were manufactured in 1864 as in 1862. Almost in the twinkling of an eye a new industrial era was opened.

7. **After the Civil War.**—In the half century since the Civil War, in many lines of manufacture the number of establishments has decreased or increased very slowly while the average number of wage earners, the amount of capital invested, and the value of the output per establishment has increased rapidly. The following table presents comparative statistics of factories according to the Census of 1900 and that of 1910. The statistics are for the years 1899 and 1909.

<i>Census.</i>	<i>Number of establish- ments.</i>	<i>Capital.</i>	<i>Wage earners.</i>	<i>Value of products.</i>
1900	207,514	\$8,975,256,000	4,712,763	\$11,406,927,000
1910	268,491	18,428,270,000	6,615,046	20,672,052,000
Per cent. of increase	29.4	105.3	40.4	81.2

The manufacture of agricultural implements is a classic example of concentration in industry. In 1870, there were 2,076 establishments reported; and in 1910, only 640. The average number of wage earners per establishment was, in 1870, 12; in 1910, 79. The value of the output per establishment was, in 1870, \$25,000; in 1910, nearly \$229,000. In 1910 the number of establishments was reduced to about one-third of the number in 1870, but the number of wage earners per factory was six and one-half times the number in 1870, and the value of the output nine times that of

1870. The corporate form of business enterprise has become the predominant form. According to the Census of 1910, 25.9 per cent. of all manufacturing establishments in the United States were operated by corporations; but 79 per cent. of the total value of the products of manufacturing establishments was produced by corporate establishments. In some lines of manufacture the corporation is supreme. In the smelting and refining of lead the total output is produced by corporate establishments; of steel works and rolling mills, 99.5 per cent.; of gas plants, 99 per cent.; and of petroleum refineries, 98.1 per cent. The control of American railways is now placed directly or indirectly in the hands of a small number of corporations. In agriculture, the corporation has not obtained a foothold.

In recent years a new phenomenon—called integration of industries—has also become plainly visible. Great businesses like the United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Company not only control in a large measure the iron and steel business and the oil business respectively, but they are reaching out into other lines of business activity. The first named corporation controls through its board of directors not only iron and steel mills, but bridge works, tin plate plants, coal and iron mines, coking furnaces, railway and steamship lines, docks and limestone quarries. Through stock ownership and interlocking directorates the great railway, mining, manufacturing, and banking interests of the nation are

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being knit closely together. A community of interests is being formed.

As our industries have grown larger, the markets supplied by them have been enlarged, and more and more efficient methods have been employed. A hasty survey of the meat packing industry of Chicago will furnish an excellent illustration. In 1860, this business was small and only supplied a local market. By 1877, the market area had enlarged until it comprised the entire United States. In 1910, this inland city sent its beef and other meats to Europe, South America, Africa, Asia, Australia, and the East India Islands. This astonishing growth of market area has been made possible by the use of the refrigerator and the process of canning. In the early history of the packing industry much was wasted ; but to-day practically nothing is allowed to go to waste. Blood, bones, hoofs, horns, trimmings, and sinews are all utilized. A variety of articles are produced from what was formerly thrown away,—soap, gelatine, butterine, bristles, glue, ammonia, pepsin, albumin, fertilizer, and many other products. The packing industry also practices extreme subdivision of labor. “Skill has become specialized to fit the anatomy.” Each worker has his own special and minute task to perform. He makes his particular cut or motion, and passes the material to the next worker in the long line of specialized and articulated workers.

The foregoing statistics are presented because

the important, almost phenomenal, changes in industry mark equally important changes in the living and working conditions of the American people. Social, educational, political, and religious institutions are feeling the effects of these changes. The statistics of the preceding sections are freighted with human weal or human woe. They are the concrete marks of a revolutionary change in American life. Can we as a nation adjust our habits and institutions formed when we were a frontier community, to large-scale manufacture, to big cities, to the situation which obtains after the frontier line has faded away? In the light of a new industrial situation which has been evolved with startling rapidity, what new function or functions should be performed by the state, the school, and the church? What function or functions, if any, should no longer be performed?

8. Immigration.—The United States is, and has been, a country possessing a large foreign-born population. Statistics of immigration have been gathered since 1820. During the period from 1820 to 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants came to our shores. Of this total 8,795,386, or 31.5 per cent., arrived during the last decennial period, 1901 to 1910. The arrivals during that decade equalled the population of the United States when James Monroe was first elected President. The immigrants have not flowed to this country in a steady but gradually widening stream. They have come in a somewhat irregular manner.

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There has been first a high tide and then a low tide. This wave-like motion has followed quite closely the ebb and flow of prosperous conditions. A period of prosperity in the United States has ever served as a magnet to draw immigrants to seek homes on this side of the Atlantic. On the contrary, a period of depression is always followed by a marked diminution in the flow of immigration. The last decennial period furnishes an example. In the last months of 1907 occurred a financial crisis of considerable magnitude. The effect upon immigration is clearly seen in the following figures which give the number of immigrants coming to this country during the decade,—1901, 487,918; 1902, 648,743; 1903, 857,046; 1904, 812,870; 1905, 1,026,499; 1906, 1,100,735; 1907, 1,285,349; 1908, 782,870; 1909, 751,786; 1910, 1,041,570; 1911, 878,587; and 1912, 838,172.

Although official statistics have only been gathered since 1908, the outward movement or emigration of aliens is about one-third of the immigration. Or, the net immigration is only about two-thirds of the gross immigration. If this ratio has held good during the last decennial period, the net immigration for the ten years would be approximately two-thirds of 8,795,386, or about 6,000,000. The average net immigration per year would be in round numbers 600,000, or about $\frac{1}{16}$ of the total population of the United States in 1910. During the decade, 1841-1850, estimating that the net immigration

bore the same ratio to the gross, the average yearly immigration was approximately $\frac{1}{200}$ of the population in 1850.

Before the Civil War, Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland furnished the bulk of our immigrants. In recent years, Southern Europe, rather than Northern Europe, is contributing the major portion of the great stream of immigrants. As striking contrasts may be drawn between the typical immigrant of the pre-Civil War period and that of to-day, as may be drawn between the small-scale industry of 1850 and the large-scale business of 1913. The shifting character of the typical immigrant is both a cause and an effect of the industrial transformation which the United States has witnessed since the middle of last century. The decline in immigration from Northern Europe is also in some measure due to the improved industrial and living conditions in many countries of Northern Europe and to the utilization of other outlets for population such as Canada, Australia, and South America.

In recent decades, the rough and hard work of the nation has been in no small measure performed by the recent immigrant. It is this neglected and often despised recent immigrant who has built, and who repairs, our railways. He mines much of our coal and iron ore, he unloads our vessels, cleans our streets, and works in our packing houses and canning factories. The immigrant of recent decades tends to concentrate in the cities. In 1900, 66.3 per cent.

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of the total foreign-born population lived in cities having a population of 25,000 or over. Many important industries and many large cities would shrink into insignificance if divested of the foreign-born and the children of the foreign-born. In 1900 Chicago would have lost nearly four-fifths of her population through a migration of foreign-born and of those born of foreign parents. The great influx into the United States of low standard-of-living workers has tended to increase the division and subdivision of labor. On the other hand, without this influx of foreign workers more machinery might have been employed in our industries.

The Immigration Commission has pointed out several "salient characteristics" of recent immigration. 1. The bulk of recent immigrants have been farmers in their home country; but the great majority become wage earners in our mines, in our factories, on our railways, or in construction work. 2. They lack industrial training and experience. 3. The typical immigrant of to-day has an almost empty pocketbook. He must get a job at once. 4. His standard of living is low. 5. The recent immigrant is migratory, docile, and subservient. He has no property interests, and often no family ties, to attach him to any particular community.

SUMMARY

Changes in methods of doing the world's work make imperative modifications in social institutions.

Successful reform movements act in harmony with the fundamental forces making for social change.

The modern industrial age opened with the Industrial Revolution.

The early American worker was a jack-of-all-trades ; but the typical wage earner of to-day is a specialized worker.

The American factory system was developed before the Civil War. During the Civil War, industrial progress was rapid.

Since the Civil War, large-scale industry has become predominant ; and Americans have become familiar with subdivision of labor and world markets.

Consequently, the real functions of different social institutions are being modified.

The recent immigrant is our typical unskilled worker.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What new duties and functions should the Church assume in modern, complex, urban civilization ?

Does your church devote more attention to increasing its membership than to improving the living and working conditions in the community ?

What is the attitude of your church towards higher wages and shorter working days for the manual laborer ?

How far should the churches concern themselves with industrial questions ?

II

THE INDUSTRIALISM OF TO-DAY

RURAL and Urban Population.—In 1800, there were six American cities having a population of more than 8,000 persons, and four per cent. of the total population lived in these six cities. One hundred and ten years later, over nine per cent. of the total population lived in three cities of over 1,000,000 each, 22.1 per cent. in cities of over 100,000 each, and 46.3 per cent. in towns and cities of 2,500 or over. At least one in every fifteen persons living in the United States in 1910 resided in the metropolitan district of New York City, that is, New York City and the contiguous urban districts.

The Census Bureau divides Continental United States into ten geographic divisions for purposes of statistical comparison. In 1860, the first rank in population was held by the Middle Atlantic States,—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; but during the next four decades the East North Central held the first place,—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In 1910, however, the tide turned and that great industrial workshop, the Middle Atlantic division, again took first rank. Twenty-one per cent. of the total

population lived in these three factory, mining and commercial States. And seventy-one per cent. of the people living in the Middle Atlantic States resided in towns and cities containing 2,500 or more people. In New England, the percentage was 83.3. In the three geographic divisions—New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central States—were contained 4,800,000 of the 6,600,000 wage earners engaged in manufacturing,—nearly seventy-three per cent.

American cities have been growing rapidly for several decades preceding the present; but the census returns for 1900 gave some indication of a checking of the rate of increase of the urban relative to the rural population.¹ The 1910 returns, however, show evidences of a renewed surge towards the cities; the trend towards the cities was unmistakable. In only two States, Montana and Wyoming, was the percentage of increase in the rural population greater than in the urban. In the decade, 1900–1910, the urban population of Continental United States² increased 34.8 per cent., or slightly over eleven millions. The rural population increased during the same decade 11.2 per cent., or nearly five millions. In the three

¹ Carlton, "The Growth of Rural Population," *Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1903.

² An urban population was defined by the Bureau of the Census in 1910 as that "residing in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more." In preceding reports, the limit was fixed at 8,000.

great industrial divisions, New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central States, in which dwell nearly one-half of the total population, the total increase in urban population during the last decennial period was over 6,500,000. But the rural population of the same divisions only increased 435,188. And, in New England and the East Central States, the rural population actually declined during the ten years. In a solid block of thirty counties in the southeastern part of Michigan only one county showed an increase in rural population during the decade.

2. **The Growing Importance of the City.**—The traditional American democracy has been that of an increasing population facing almost unbounded natural resources and living upon a rising level of income. The familiar American type of democracy has been that developed among frontiersmen ; but to-day American democracy is confronting a new situation. The ever westward-travelling population wave reached the Pacific a score or more years ago, and that great barrier has turned the wave back upon itself. With the frontier eliminated and nearly one-half of the population classified as urban, the industrial problem in the United States takes on new aspects. New and often misinterpreted factors are introduced into the national equation. As in the ancient days when agriculture replaced hunting and fishing, or in the less remote period when slavery and serfdom were replaced by the wages system, working and home conditions are now

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undergoing great transformations. America is, indeed, a great melting pot for the amalgamation of the peoples of the globe.

Some writers enamored with an idealized view of early life in America consider cities to be danger points in our national life. Asks Professor Fetter, "Shall it be our ideal to multiply men on our city streets and smoking suburbs, away from fields and forests and mountains; or shall we not rather give to all our people space to earn an ample living and to live an ample life, worthy of our democratic ideal?" It is urged that, if the population still continues to increase because of high birth-rates and large immigration, America is in danger of yielding a large crop of peasant farmers and city proletarians. More optimistic Americans assert that the city is "the hope of democracy." Certain it is that both the city and the factory are here and here to stay. Our problem as thoughtful American citizens is to "humanize" them, not to lament their coming or to attempt to eliminate them. Twentieth century Americans must learn to live in cities; they must be able to develop strong, clean, and capable men and women in cities.

If not, then is the nation doomed to travel the downward path towards decay and degeneracy. The rural districts, already drained of much that is best, can no longer continue to furnish the city with its leaders. In the cities are found crowding, hustle, noise, allurements, and excitement; but in the cities are also found sanitary in-

spectors, playgrounds, good schools, public libraries, and labor organizations. In the past our cities have grown without reference to the needs of the men, women, and children who were forced to live in them. The city of the future is to be a planned city. It is to be one in which human resources may be conserved and increased ; it is to be more than a market-place, a site for smoking factories, or an opportunity for the land speculator. The city of the future will be a place where people live instead of merely exist. But in order to achieve this transformation, intelligent, purposeful, devoted, and organized effort is needed. And our churches and church organizations have an opportunity to play a leading part in "humanizing" our cities, in making them the hope of democracy.

3. **Monotonous Work.**—Two important characteristics of modern large-scale production are speed and monotony,—the products of extreme subdivision of labor. The typical unskilled laborer of to-day is the machine tender ; and many occupations may be accurately characterized as "blind-alley trades," or trades which lead nowhere. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the characteristics of many occupations. In the needle trades, power machines are often used. Some kinds carry as many as twelve needles, and make nearly 4,000 stitches per minute. The attention of the operator who is usually a woman cannot be relaxed "a second while the machine runs its deafening course, for

at the breaking of any one of the twelve gleaming needles or of the darting threads, the power must instantly be shut off." In canneries, "capping" the cans is a good example of speed and monotony. After the cans are filled with fruit or vegetables, they are carried by a belt conveyor to the sealing or capping machine. The capping girl usually holds a number of the caps in her hands and drops "them monotonously, one at a time, upon the cans as they swiftly pass on the tireless conveyor, at a rate varying from fifty-four to eighty cans per minute." The attention of the reader has been called to the extreme subdivision of labor found in the meat packing industry. Hand workers who wrap and pack small objects, such as crackers, glassware, candy, or who label cans, have also an occupation as monotonous as those connected with the use of machinery.

When this routine work is continued day after day, week after week, it becomes deadening and stupefying. The man becomes almost a machine. All interest in the work vanishes. He becomes a passive agent in a great industry, and is known only by his number. Professor Commons has drawn the following depressing word-picture of the worker feeding a semi-automatic machine. "But the work is monotonous—just one or two operations, hour after hour, ten hours a day, sixty hours a week." The worker at the machine "keeps on—his mind shrinks—he never thinks of his work unless something goes wrong

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—he thinks of other things—his childhood, his former playmates—his days and nights of fun and wild oats—anything to keep his mind off from the deadly monotony.” And yet many more fortunately circumstanced individuals do not understand why the worker in his moments of leisure demands excitement, thrills, a climax. Excesses, carousals, the melodrama, are inevitable reactions from the excessive and deadening monotony of daily work.

4. **Tendencies in Agriculture.**—The last decennial period disclosed some very significant tendencies in agriculture. The average acreage per farm declined from 146.2 in 1900 to 138.1 in 1910. But the average value of all property per farm increased from \$3,563 to \$6,444. In the immediately preceding decades the increase in farm values was almost a negligible quantity,—from 1860 to 1900 inclusive the value per farm was over \$3,000 and less than \$4,000. The average value of all property per acre of land in farms was \$24.37 in 1900 and \$46.64 in 1910 ; the average value of the land per acre was \$15.57 and \$32.40 respectively. The average investment per farm increased remarkably during the ten-year period. This considerable rise in the market value of farms has added to the obstacles which confront the young man without money who seeks to become a farm owner. Statistics indicate that an increase in tenancy and an increase in land values went hand in hand during the decade. The percentage of tenancy is, however,

high throughout the South where land values are low ; but this is due in a large measure to the number of Negro tenants.

One of the great evils of tenancy in the United States is the frequent moving of tenants from farm to farm. "In the South," writes an authority, "about half the tenants move every year." In the North, the average period is somewhat longer. The constant shifting of tenants causes a double difficulty. It tends to wear out the soil and sooner or later tends to impoverish the farmers working the land. In the second place, the frequent moving from farm to farm weakens the neighborhood ties, diminishes interest in local affairs, prevents the development of strong community organizations of various kinds.¹

In the West North Central States—Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas—the average number of acres per farm increased from 189.5 in 1900 to 209.6 in 1910. In the East North Central States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—the figures are 102.4 and 105.0 respectively. In the above-named States which, if the production of cotton is excluded, produce the great bulk of our staple agricultural products, the average size of farms and the average value per acre are increasing. These figures are portentous of great changes in the life and

¹Hibbard, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1913, pp. 495-496.

activity of our farmers and farm laborers in the North. And the probable introduction of a successful mechanical cotton picker in the South will doubtless revolutionize the rural life in that section.

This tendency towards larger farms in the North Central States will probably be accelerated during the next decade or two. An increasing use of mechanical tractors and gang plows may be expected, and these can be most efficiently utilized upon large farms. On the experimental farm of Perdue University, it is reported that a thirty horse-power kerosene engine, hitched to a giant plow having fifty bottoms and turning fifty furrows simultaneously, plowed an acre in four and one-fourth minutes. It seems probable that important savings may follow the substitution of the tractor for the horse. At present the prices of agricultural products are high and the opportunities for extensive investment in railway and manufacturing enterprises are not as great relatively as were found up to the last decade or two. These two facts indicate a rush of capital into agriculture in the not distant future. The application of capital on a large scale, the appeal to scientific agriculture, and the introduction of scientific management and cost accounting, may be expected to work marvellous changes. Many omens of changes to come may be discerned.

The following census statistics are indicative of present tendencies in agriculture.

<i>Size of farms.</i>	<i>Per cent. of total.</i>	
	<i>1910</i>	<i>1900</i>
Under 20 acres	1.0 . . .	0.9
20 to 49 "	5.2 . . .	5.0
50 to 99 "	11.7 . . .	11.8
100 to 174 "	23.4 . . .	23.0
175 to 499 "	30.2 . . .	27.8
500 to 999 "	9.5 . . .	8.1
1,000 acres and over	19.1 . . .	23.6

These figures indicate that the typical farm of the near future is to contain from 175 to 1,000 acres. There were, in 1910, 50,135 farms containing 1,000 or more acres each; in 1900, the number was 47,160. One-half of the big farms are found in the West North Central and the West South Central States, composing the first two tiers of States west of the Mississippi River. In the West North Central States, the acreage in farms containing 500 to 999 acres each increased approximately fifty per cent. in the ten years. In the South Atlantic and East South Central States, the acreage in small farms containing twenty to forty-nine acres increased very materially. The tenant farms of the South are small. The tenant, especially the Negro tenant, in the South is more rigidly supervised and controlled by the land owner than in the North. In fact, leasing cotton lands in small tracts is practically a method of operating a plantation. In the new renting system which is being developed in Oklahoma and Texas, the tenant agrees to work under the supervision of the owner. Under such conditions, the tenant is placed in a position similar to the sub-contracting foreman in a manufactur-

ing establishment. The conditions which make for sweating in agriculture are being prepared.

The Taft farm or ranch in Texas contains about 150 square miles, or nearly 100,000 acres, of excellent farming land. The farm is supervised by an agricultural expert. Farming on this big farm is scientific and large-scale. The company owning and operating the farm also operates its own packing house, cotton gins, an ice plant, a machine shop for repairing, and an electric lighting plant. The workers live in company houses and buy at company stores. The factory system is here taken to the farm. The farm laborers work in gangs under overseers who in turn are subordinate to other managers, and so on up to the expert in charge. The farm laborer on this giant farm, like the factory worker, is a mere cog in a great machine. The Taft farm is an extreme example of the new type of "bonanza" farms.

5. "Satellite Cities."—On the outskirts of many large American cities are smaller clusters of home and business establishments scattered in an irregular manner around some huge manufacturing plant. These are the "satellite cities" which big industries have built at some distance from the city proper in order to avoid high rents or the exactions of labor organizations, or for some other reason held to be good by the employing corporation. The greatest of these is Gary, Indiana,—a city built on the sandy shores of Lake Michigan according to the deliberate plan

of the United Steel Corporation. “Gary is probably the greatest single calculated achievement of America’s master industry. A score of steel towns have grown slowly from small beginnings. But the creators of Gary planned *de novo* a city which in five years attained a size that required thirty years of growth at Homestead, and which is not unlikely to become the second city in Indiana before many decades pass.”¹ Almost as by magic a gigantic corporation caused the sandy waste to become a city with homes, paved streets, schools, churches, stores, and great steel mills, and peopled it with a busy and heterogeneous population. The great financial power thus exhibited necessarily is a potent factor for good or ill upon the lives of thousands who congregate in the “satellite city.” The voters in the municipality are the employees of the great corporation. The company becomes a powerful factor in promoting or in checking the growth of vice and immorality. Political and industrial power is in the satellite city clearly and unmistakably concentrated in the hands of the company.

Even small cities are developing “satellites” in which reside the workers for some manufacturing plant. For example, in Albion, a town of six thousand inhabitants, is found a considerable group of houses owned by a manufacturing company. Nearly all of the wage workers employed by the company live in this settlement.

¹ G. R. Taylor, *The Survey*, March 1, 1913.

They are thus set apart from the rest of the town. Many cannot speak the English language. These workers live in houses innocent of modern conveniences. The yards and streets are devoid of anything which makes for beauty. The writer visited the second story of one of these company houses in the two small rooms of which at least twenty-five men sleep and live during their leisure time. Here were working men, many of them recent immigrants, living in filth and squalor, and under conditions which cannot make for good citizenship. Yet this little community is practically neglected by the people living elsewhere in the city. True it is that few of us know "how the other half lives."

6. **Scientific Management.**—Nearly all of the great expanse of fertile land within the borders of the United States has passed into the hands of private owners, and the vast natural resources of the nation have been tapped. We can no longer tolerate the wastefulness and the rule-of-thumb methods of the pioneer. Efficiency and conservation are now the magic words. Cost accounting, the card index, the stop watch, and the adding machine are some of the necessary accessories of efficiency engineering or scientific management. Expenses of production are accurately determined; and both men and machines are carefully and scientifically studied. "The primitive competition of employer against employer is a children's game compared with the modern competition of manager against manager

checked up every month by the cold statistics of cost. Under this system managers go down like tenpins, or up like Schwab. They 'hire and fire' their employees, promote and derate their subordinates, with the precision of rapid-fire guns. Under their exact system of cost they measure a man as they do coal, iron, and kilowatts, and labor becomes literally, what it has been by analogy, a commodity. If one be a scientist or an engineer one can but admire the marvellous results. The astounding reductions of cost, the unheard-of efficiency of labor, the precise methods of scientific experiment and tests, reveal a new field of conquest of the human mind."¹

The potentialities of scientific management seem enormous. The application of scientific principles to such apparently simple tasks as bricklaying, shovelling, or carrying pig iron has demonstrated that many of the motions of the average worker are unnecessary, and that much more work may be performed in a day without increased fatigue. Scientific management doubtless will greatly increase the per capita output. But like the introduction of machinery, scientific management bids fair to cause "another intensive, resistless reordering of industrial life"; and this unfortunately often means for many wage earners unemployment and uncertainty. A recent book on scientific management is authority for the state-

¹ Commons, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 757-758.

ment that one company "cut its shop force from 100 men to 70, and at the same time increased its output 300 per cent.,"—by using the methods of scientific management. The wage earners naturally fear that this new system devised and proposed by their employers, and which is being forced upon them without their consent, is some subtle method of getting more out of employees without increasing the size of the pay checks. Before the hearty coöperation of the employees can be obtained, this fear, born of past experience with the introduction of machinery, must be dispelled. Scientific management has its psychological side. It cannot achieve its fullest success until the employees see more in it than a subtle means of speeding them. Certainly the workers ought to share in the benefits which flow from efficiency engineering. And they are justified in taking steps through their organizations to obtain a share in the benefits which are to come from scientific management.

7. The Relations of Employer to Employee.—From the early days when the captives in battle were first forced to till the soil for the benefit of their conquerors, through the long eras of slavery and serfdom, to the modern wage system with its definite payment of money wages, there has been a fundamental difference in view-point between the worker on one hand, and the master, feudal landlord, or employer, on the other. The latter is interested primarily in the product of the worker's toil, and only secondarily in the welfare

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and uplift of the toiler. The modern employer is more humane than his prototype ; but the basic incentive in his demand for workers is old. The workers, ancient, medieval, or modern, were and are, of course, self-centred. They have been dragged into the active work of the world unwillingly, as if by the hair of the head. Compulsion,—the lash, fear of hunger and of the lack of comforts,—has been the potent, but negative, force which has throughout the years hastened the steps of the lagging worker. Work has been to the worker a means to an end,—escape from the lash of the master or to gain a livelihood. To the employer, or master, productive activity on the part of the mass of people is the excuse for their existence. The workers in this new era of great productivity are catching the vision that work should be performed for the sake of leisure and comfort for themselves. Modern democracy is emphasizing, in the phraseology of another, not more respect for men, but respect for more men. “More respect for men” is the older idea ; “respect for more men” is a phrase pregnant with hope of better living conditions for the masses. But this is little more than a vision as yet ; and few are the employers who have even caught a glimpse of this inspiring ideal.

The typical employer of to-day is a corporation. Under present-day conditions, the urge for dividends is often the potent and compelling pressure which moulds the policy of a large corporation. And this insistent yearning for dividends pro-

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ceeds usually from distant and widely scattered stockholders who know little or nothing of the conditions in the industry, the wages paid, the length of the working day, or the protection provided against accident. But this keen demand for dividends is more potent in determining the policy of the corporation than was the desire for profits in the ante-corporation days of "personalized" management. When the proprietor knew each man by name, the settlement of grievances required a very different method of procedure than it does when the workers are numbered and the employer is a legal person,—a corporation. The elimination of the personal equation is balanced, however, by the potency of the growing ideal of democracy, and by the weakening of the older idea of a depressed working class, inherited from the days of slavery and serfdom. Unfortunately, while the modern worker has secured a modicum of independence, he has become a cog in a big industrial machine and he is unable to grasp the import of his work. "The man in the factory as well as the man with the hoe," writes Miss Jane Addams, "has a grievance beyond being overworked and disinherited in that he does not know what it is all about."

Further analysis of the view-points held by the representatives of labor and capital will bear fruit. The producer and the consumer of sugar or of steel have opposing interests,—the former desires to get high prices for his output and the latter wishes to buy at a bargain. Ingenious

hair-splitting and soft words will not materially change this situation. The wage worker is a seller of labor power and a business firm is the purchaser of that commodity. While both have certain interests in common, as bargainers for the purchase and sale of labor power, their interests are by no means identical.

The training, experience, and social life of the manager of a business enterprise and that of the manual worker employed by the firm, are quite dissimilar. One is closely in touch with the world of buying and selling, the other with a narrow portion of the technical side of the business; one obtains experience in the financial world, the other in the sphere of manual industry; and the two live in very different sections of the city or town, have different circles of friends, and are out of close touch with each other during the working and during the leisure period of the day.

The clashing economic interests, the dissimilar working experience, and the separate spheres of social activity, produce a situation which is not conducive to harmonious relations between employer and employee. As a consequence, each is inclined to under-emphasize the ability, the importance of the function, and the virtues of the other. Yet very frequently when the representatives of the two can be brought together and can get a glimpse of the view-point of the other, more or less satisfactory compromises can be made, and a wage bargain consummated which obviates the resort to industrial warfare.

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SUMMARY

The United States is rapidly becoming a predominantly urban community.

The famous American frontier line has faded away; and the cities are beginning to dominate in our social and political life.

Americans must learn to live and to grow strong in urban communities.

Reaction from routine work is a cause of excesses.

In agriculture, tenancy is increasing and land values are rising.

The introduction of scientific management tends to increase the efficiency of a manufacturing plant; but the workers fear that it is some subtle means of speeding up.

The growth of large-scale production and of corporate management has tended to destroy the personal nexus between employer and employee. Two distinct and clashing view-points are developed.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Is the Church doing its part in "humanizing" our cities?

Long-continued drudgery and monotonous routine are deadening and debilitating. What attitude is your church taking in regard to the long day, the seven-day week, and the absence of wholesome recreation? What should be its attitude?

Is a "satellite" community located in or near your city? What do you know of the conditions in that community?

III

THE EFFECT OF INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION UPON THE HOME AND HOME LIFE

THE Home of the Pioneer.—The typical American home of preceding generations was situated on a farm. It was somewhat isolated from other homes. The isolated farmhouse is proudly pointed to as the birthplace of all beloved Americans from Washington to McKinley. This traditional home was in early days a centre of a considerable number of small-scale industries,—farming, dairying, slaughtering, carpentering, tool and implement making, sheep raising, fuel producing, soap making, cloth making, cooking, and so on through a long list of occupations. In a large measure the pioneer farm was a self-contained economic unit. It consumed nearly all that it produced and consumed little which was not there produced. Iron tools, sugar, spices, furniture, cooking utensils, dishes, and a few other things came from the outside world. Neighbors occasionally changed works. From time to time, the father would take a wagon load of wheat, or drive a few head of cattle, to the nearest town. The water supply, milk supply, food supply, and the supply of clothing and

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shelter were largely matters of home efforts. The isolated environment reduced the problems of social and political life to a minimum. Each family worked and lived largely for itself without reference to the outside world. The industrial problems were simple, and the problems of each family were worked out in no small measure by themselves.

2. **The Urban Home.**—As time passed the city gained on the rural districts, and, also, the farm lost many of its industrial functions. The new-born giant, the factory, has reached out to the farm and the home, and has taken from both certain kinds of work. The typical home is no longer the isolated, many-functioned, rural farmhouse; it is the village or city house. Indeed, in the days of good roads, rural mail delivery, suburban electric lines, telephones, and numerous other conveniences, the isolated home is becoming uncommon even in the rural districts. The farmer is being rapidly transformed into a business man. He is improving the methods of production; and he is giving much attention to marketing his products.

The effect of these changes upon the home has been at least threefold: (1) it has lost many of its industrial functions; (2) it has been brought into close touch with other homes, and (3) it is now dependent upon the outside world for its necessary supplies, and, consequently, the cleanliness and purity of such supplies depend upon agencies operating outside the residence of the family.

On the other hand, the mobility of the population to-day is greater than in earlier days. The percentage of rented homes is greater in both city and country than it was a generation or two ago. Families change their residence frequently. This mobility tends to prevent the development of affection for town or city. It weakens the ties which bind the family to the community, the school, and the church.

3. **The Process of Adjustment.**—The process of adjusting our ideals of home and home life developed during the period when the old isolated-farmhouse home was the typical home, to fit the conditions of home making in modern towns and cities is a very difficult one. Old ideals relating to the home, like those relating to religious beliefs and educational methods, change slowly and only under great and steady pressure. There is a powerful social inertia which prevents rapid modifications in ideals and customs. We are too prone to insist without careful consideration that the old-fashioned isolated home is the best possible sort of home for all peoples and all time. But the relentless and unsentimental industrial changes of recent years are forcing a new situation upon us.

4. **Woman's Place in the Home.**—Industrial progress during the last few generations has vitally affected the industrial functions of the home, and in so doing has materially altered woman's place in the home and her relation to her husband. The farmer's wife was, and in a

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large measure still is, a co-laborer with her husband and the older children for a common end. A generation ago she was a co-producer of staple and salable products. To-day, the woman in the household can in no way directly aid her husband in his efforts to earn a living in shop, store, mine or office. She may aid him in many ways but she is no longer his co-laborer in earning a living, nor are the children of the family unless they work outside the home circle. If the children work, it may be in another part of the town, in another shop, or in another department of the same shop.

The factory in seizing the industrial functions of the home and by drawing homes so close together, has thrust upon the nation several complex problems. Throughout the ages woman has been an industrial worker in the home. Shall she now follow industry out of the home? But the factory is routinized; it is a deadening and dehumanizing institution. Again, when the mother leaves the home, what will become of the children? If she attempts to bring her traditional forms of work back into the home in competition with the factory, the result invariably spells sweat-shop. Home industry is no longer a dignified phrase. Again, the children have lost their opportunity for home work and for many forms of training formerly afforded by the home. The factory offers at best only a sorry substitute for the early home training which our fathers and grandfathers received.

Professor Noyes has presented the situation in our large cities very clearly and forcefully. "As the result of the prevalent conditions of home life in the tenement, the child is inevitably forced out into the street, not only during the daytime, but, as common observation shows, until late at night, not only in good weather but in foul. The child has nothing to do at home unless, perhaps, his home be a sweat-shop where he works ; otherwise he is only in the way there. In the evening he cannot go to sleep even if he stays there on account of the talk and work, and so he often runs in the street until ten, eleven or twelve o'clock. As a result it is no exaggeration to say that the tenement child grows up on the street, where he is 'educated with fatal precision.' "

"The dilemma for the city child seems to be either painful exhaustion and demoralizing work on the one hand or futile idleness and its consequent immorality on the other." This dilemma is one which did not confront the typical American boy of a generation ago ; but to-day the problem is before us. And the cities are growing rapidly.

5. Relation of Children to Parents.—As has been indicated, in the town or city the home offers little opportunity to the child for regular and useful tasks. Unless the child enters the factory, store, office, or the street trades as a wage earner, he is an economic burden to the family. And, if he does go into those industries while still of school age, he is likely to be forced into

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“blind-alley” occupations presenting few opportunities for future usefulness. On the contrary, on the pioneer farm children were economic assets. They could be utilized to do many odd jobs and various kinds of work not requiring considerable muscular development. And this work, unless the child was pushed too hard, was educative and developmental. Too frequently in our discussions of the home and home life, we ignore this marked and significant change in the relation of children to parents, or neglect to discuss its effect upon the continuity of family life. For it must not be forgotten that the family was evolved as a social institution for “advantages in toil” as well as for the preservation of the race.

6. **The Functions of the Home.**—The isolated farm-home had plenty of play space for the small children. The postage-stamp yard or the yardless home of to-day complicates the amusement problem. The chores of the farm-home and the almost unlimited play space offered adequate opportunity for the boy and girl to exercise and to expend the surplus energy of childhood. But the very forces which have taken away the chores have also eliminated the home playground. The alternatives offered are little or no play and too much work under conditions which do not educate, or no work and too much idleness under conditions which often make for moral degeneracy. The solution is an important part of the educational problem of the community. The effect of the machine and the factory has been to

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take industry out of the home and to call the women and children to the factory. The machine and the factory are here as permanent industrial agencies. The clock cannot be turned backwards ; society will not return to the hand-tool stage of industrial development. Whether the effects of machine industry upon home life be good, bad or indifferent is a matter chiefly of academic interest. The big, pulsing, practical question relates to the improvement and humanizing of the machine and the factory. New factors have entered the problem, and we must solve it without eliminating those new factors.

7. The Home in the "Good Old Days."—The beautiful picture painted by certain enthusiasts in regard to the good old times and the old-fashioned home is by no means accurate. The glamor of the past is upon it. And the glamor of the past is one form of the powerful lure of the far-away and uncommon which leads men and women to overemphasize the distant and the unusual, and to underestimate the present, the common, and the tangible. The bright spots in the picture of the traditional home are over-colored, and the hard, never-ending toil in the monotonous life of the housewife is carefully concealed from the observer. The mother was always at home. Her work drove her unceasingly. She knew little or nothing of the great outside world ; and too often she was a prematurely aged woman. Indeed, the average home of two or three gener-

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ations ago, if reproduced to-day in one of our towns or cities, would be called a sweat-shop of an inefficient type.

8. **Community Effort.**—The replacement of the isolated farm-home by the town and city home as the typical American home, causes more and more stress to be laid upon community problems. The purity of the food, water and milk supply, the disposal of wastes, the control of contagious diseases, and the moral influences affecting the children of the family were matters of little import to the primitive or frontier community. Each family solved its own local problems; and the great mass of its problems were local. To-day, a corporation, municipal or private, pumps water into the home, a milk company brings milk to your door from distant dairies, meat is purchased from a Chicago packing house and breakfast food from Battle Creek, garbage collection and a sewage system are necessities, and contagious diseases, if uncontrolled, readily spread throughout a community, the saloon and the cheap amusement house are moral menaces to each and every home in the community. The individual householder has seen function after function, process after process, literally wrested from his grasp.

To-day, the individual alone is almost helpless to cope with the situation born of the modern machine process. With reluctance, fostered by the false and inherited pride of individual self-sufficiency, American families are finally seeing

new visions. The purity of foods, the cleanliness of the house, the elimination of moral and physical contagion, the disposal of wastes, and the like, are now becoming recognized, and rightly so, as community problems. "I will" is being replaced by "we will" as an efficient, effective and practical slogan. Housekeeping and home-making are now municipal and national problems. Home is now spread city-, state-, nation-wide. A thousand hands rock the cradle; and these hands can only be controlled from outside the four walls of the house in which the family lives. The Church should exert its powerful influence towards forcing community problems upon the municipality and the state. And it should firmly stand for efficient work on the part of the officials.

SUMMARY

The contrast between the function of the rural home of the pioneer and the home of to-day's city dweller is striking.

Americans are now in a trying process of adjustment to new home conditions and environments.

The work of women has been transformed; and the relations between parents and children have suffered certain modifications.

The home in the "good old days" was, however, by no means ideal.

The replacement of the isolated farmhouse by the urban residence as the typical American home forces us to place more emphasis upon community action.

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SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Inefficiency and corruption on the part of municipal officials strike a blow at American civilization. Can our churches aid in generating a public sentiment which will demand good clean government even though it be costly and even though it demands self-sacrifice from all good citizens?

What is your church doing for the young people of the community?

How far is the entrance of women into industry to be regarded as desirable?

IV

INDUSTRY AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

EDUCATION is a Labor-Saving Device.—The fundamental purpose of education is to place in the hands of an incoming generation the knowledge and the results of the experience of the generation now in control of affairs. Education is a labor-saving device. If each and every generation were obliged to begin at the bottom and recapitulate the growth and experience of all preceding generations, progress would necessarily be almost nil. Education formally presented in connection with a school system or informally imparted at home, in the shop or elsewhere, enables the young to obtain within a comparatively short time the fundamentals of the scientific, technical, and cultural achievements of the race. Upon this foundation, further development may proceed. "It is as if a torch-bearer began millions of years ago running down the ages with his light, at first but a feeble spark, which as he fell breathless he passed to another and he in turn to another, the torch growing and flaming more brightly until at last it has been committed to our hands," and our duty it is to pass the torch to another well-prepared generation to carry a little farther.

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2. **Education may be a Progressive or a Reactionary Force.**—The scope of modern education is not confined to the mere passive transfer of the torch of experience. Education is more than Chinese formalism and memory drill. The modern educational system should serve to aid the runner in keeping his sense of direction, in avoiding dangers and in overcoming obstacles in new and untrodden territory. The rôle to be played by the school in the twentieth century is, indeed, of great importance. The school may become a lamp to guide the feet of the inexperienced, or it may be a millstone about the neck of the eager, hopeful youth. The keystone in the arch of true democracy is education; but a school system may be so organized and utilized as to become a powerful obstacle in the path towards a higher and a better civilization.

3. **Education should be a Directive Agent.**—The true function of education is to be a social directive agent, and to reduce social maladjustments; or, in other words, to be the trusted servant of sociology. The only stable standard of educational values is sociological. Heretofore, educational advance has lagged behind social progress. Science is gathering data for directive, purposeful social action; and it is the function of sociology, the science of human society, to reduce the friction which retards and oftentimes temporarily diverts the onward march of human progress. Since sociology is still distant from a true scientific basis, education must also remain

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in a measure unscientific. Only general rules can be laid down ; and men having different ideals and interests will necessarily differ in regard to them. No one is justified, however, in condemning or approving an educational process or method because it is old or because it is new. Each and every educational project, method, and ideal, old or new, should be constantly subjected to careful and unbiased scrutiny from two dissimilar standpoints—that of psychology and that of sociology. The educator, let it be repeated, who overlooks one or both of these criteria stands condemned in the light of modern scientific and historical knowledge. He has not grasped the fundamentals of pedagogical science. His place is in the machine-shop or the counting-room, not in the school.

4. **The Changing Sphere of Formal Education.**—Education in its broadest sense includes all of the personal experience which forms a man's character and personality. Education from this broad view-point is life, and may be imparted in an informal as well as a formal way. Education in the narrower and more technical sense is the training imparted in a formal way through the instrumentality of a system of schools. Human progress not only increases the sum total of experience to be imparted to a new generation, but it also tends to shift the line of demarkation between formal and informal education. Among primitive peoples education was entirely informal ; but among modern people of

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the industrial type, the sphere of formal education has seriously encroached upon the preserves of informal education. The home and the shop have been deprived by the march of modern industry of many of their educational functions. Formal or school education has suddenly assumed a dignity and importance unknown to it in the past history of mankind. The school is assuming new educational functions. The enlargement and enrichment of the school curriculum is the result of somewhat naive attempts to meet the requirements of a new and bewildering industrial situation, complicated by the rapid growth of crowded urban communities. Furthermore, since industry is coming to mean efficiently applied science the well-trained worker is the need of the hour.

5. New Educational Ideals are Needed.—The classic concept of formal education as memory drill and mental gymnastics is a perverted product of an epoch before the factory became an important industrial instrument. Twisted and distorted, it has come down to the present generation from the time when education was in a large measure informal, when the home and the small shop readily provided adequate training for all except the few who entered the professions. One of the big problems of the school of to-day is that of harmonizing our educational ideals with the new industrial situation. In short, the school ought to teach the things which the twentieth century needs, not what

the traditions of the eighteenth or the nineteenth century hold dear.

6. **What should the American Public School Aim to Accomplish?**—In view of the present industrial situation, what should the American public school system aim to accomplish? This question, above all others connected with educational matters, needs at the present moment clear, careful, and dispassionate discussion. The answers which an earnest and persistent inquirer will receive to this important question will be almost as numerous as the number of people interrogated. The American people have made a fetish of their public school system and of compulsory education. Yet they persistently cling to a multitude of more or less nebulous and conflicting opinions as to the character of the product of their school system. But a careful inspection and classification of the various views as to the nature of educational standards will enable us to thrust them into four pigeonholes labelled:—cultural, practical, psychological, and social. Surely the first step towards transmuting our educational system into a piece of scientific mechanism consists in definitely analyzing the aims and ideals which the American people hold as to the character of the product sent forth from our many public schools. An analysis of these four educational standards is therefore fundamental to any real progress towards a systematic modification of the school and college curriculum.

At the outset, unfortunately, it must be noted

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that these standards are somewhat antagonistic, —and compromise will be difficult. Educational ideals are moulded by group ideals, group interests, and group inter-relationships. The employers' ideal of an adequate and suitable school system does not coincide with the one uppermost in the minds of their employees. The merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, the teacher, and the wage earner see the educational problem from different angles ; and each will tenaciously cling to his own peculiar interpretation of the problem. And since these groups are not stable and unchanging, our educational policy constantly suffers modification. The formation and deformation of educational ideals and the equating of educational values proceed under the guiding pressure of constantly shifting interests and groups. The study of educational standards, values and methods is, therefore, intimately connected with the study of industrial evolution. And changes which bring new groups and interests to the front or modify old ones call new educational ideals into being and modify educational values.

7. **The Four Standards.**—The cultural standard shines in the pale reflected light of the past ; it is the product of an epoch in which trade and industry did not bulk large in the direct determination of educational values and methods. The prestige which clings to the cultural or classical form of education is purely traditional and inherited ; it is based in no small measure upon

class prejudice. Indeed the cultural form of modern education was formerly the practical ; it was once a part of the necessary training of the professional man. By a curious, but not unusual, process of slow evolution classical training is now esteemed because it bestows upon its possessors ideals and mannerisms which are directly opposite to those appertaining to present-day practical education. Modern cultural or classical education which is so disdainful of anything pertaining to the bread-and-butter side of life, is in reality an outgrown, out-of-date form of practical education. Such is the irony of human progress. The effect of cultural education is to carry old ideals, habits of thought and class demarkations down into modern industrial society. It leads to conservatism, to foppishness and disdain for the struggling, toiling and sweating mass of humanity ; and it tends to focus the mind upon problems which do not directly and vitally touch modern complex life. Cultural education directs the attention towards the distant, the uncommon, the immaterial, and the conventional. The cultural ideal glorifies the safe and sane, and art for art's sake ; but it carefully and conscientiously avoids contact with the radical or the insurgent. The old shaded paths of quietude and isolation are sought. The scholar in search of the cultural goal will not linger in "the house by the side of the road where the race of men pass by." The cultural ideal of education is chiefly valued because it is to be at-

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tained only by the chosen and sheltered few. Its charm, like that of the diamond, is in no small measure due to scarcity and exclusiveness.

Recent psychological study and investigation show that a certain variety and sequence of training are necessary in order that each and every individual may develop his maximum mental and manual ability. The psychological demand is for a well-rounded development of the student. Scientific students of child life are evaluating the curriculum and pedagogical methods from the psychological standpoint.

The social criterion for educational efficiency is based upon the democratic demand for good citizenship and for racial efficiency. It places a high valuation upon that which tends to break down class demarkation, to reduce artificial inequality and to uplift the human race as a whole. This criterion has not as yet been couched in as well-defined terms as the other three. Its advocates still speak in phrases which partake of the nature of glittering generalities.

On the other hand, the practical standard of educational values is applied to the mass of human workers, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. The practical standard is important because of the urgent need for a considerable variety of trained and efficient workers in the various occupations of the industrial, commercial, and clerical world. Commercial, trade, industrial, agricultural, and professional training are grouped under the head of practical

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education. To-day the emphasis is placed upon trade and commercial education ; but professional training for the law, theology, medicine, and pedagogy was in former generations the most important form of the practical work of the educational system.

8. **The Insistent Demand for Practical Education.**—New conditions in the business world are causing the insistent demand for certain forms of practical—trade or vocational—education. Industry has become a huge, articulated piece of social mechanism in which each working man is reduced to the subordinate position of a cog or a lever. To adjust nicely the industrial machine, each human cog must be trained or formed for his particular and specialized position. But profits and the shop education of apprentices are incompatible in the systematized factories where the pace is swift. As a consequence employers, finding the former sources of skilled men drying up, turn frantically to the public school system for relief. The manufacturers of this country were not enthusiastically interested in manual training which was introduced into the grades as a pedagogical necessity in order that each and every child might have an opportunity to use his hands in some form of constructive work. In fact, the manufacturers being also taxpayers were inclined to oppose manual training because it was expensive. The purely educational value of this training to the American youth was not

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small; but the old-line manual training work did not directly aid business managers in their laudable efforts to swell profits and to increase dividends. To-day, however, when skilled men are an urgent necessity the proposition seems very different to the same class of men; and an organized effort is being made by our captains of industry to convert the public schools, or certain departments of the educational system, into schools for apprentices.

The business interests of the country are making two demands upon our school system. (1) Both big and little business interests are urging the efficient and economical training of wage earners in all lines from the highest down to the lowest positions in order to insure an adequate supply of efficient employees. (2) Certain large financial interests are favoring higher forms of education for the favored few. The kind of higher education preferred is that which emphasizes the importance of vested rights, the danger of social changes, individualism and the value of financial leadership. It is desired that stress be laid upon astronomy rather than upon sociology, upon physics rather than upon economics, upon research rather than upon action, upon the efficacy of benevolence rather than upon justice, upon the sacredness of legal forms rather than upon the sacredness of humanity. Many industrial leaders avowedly emphasize the value of higher cultural education as introducing a counteracting force to radicalism of various

kinds. Conservative educators place a high valuation upon this sort of training, either because they live in a world of unreality or because they are looking for increased endowments.

9. **Demands of Social Reformers.**—The so-called educational and social reformers, the scientific students of the world's progress, together with the leaders and thinkers among the wage earners, are urging the importance of the psychological and social ideals of education. These interests are not opposing the practical forms of education, but they do strenuously maintain that the school shall not be a mere factory to turn out plodding, unthinking, narrowly trained wage earners, that the school shall not be utilized to break down the power of labor organizations, to lengthen the hours of daily toil, or to lower the standard of living of the American working man. These interests stand firmly for the view that the school system of to-day exists for the purpose of producing thinking, as well as working, men and women, for the training of citizens rather than for the fashioning of human tools. "In order to bring about an industrial democracy," writes Prof. William Noyes, "men must be trained not only in democracy but in industry." This sentence well expresses the twofold function of the public school system in a modern democracy,—training in citizenship and in workmanship. The school should not train machine-men, but men for citizenship in an industrial society.

10. **The Parting of the Educational Road.**—The American public school system, extending from the kindergarten to the graduate school of the university, is in a process of rapid modification in regard to educational aims, ideals, methods, and values. The United States to-day stands hesitatingly, torn by conflicting emotions and impulses, at the forks in the educational road. The important zone of conflict lies between the practical and the social criteria. Which of two powerful forces, emanating from business and social interests, is to control in the council chambers of American boards of education? Will the demands of "big business" or the demands for good citizenship and for racial efficiency dominate? Are our schools to be transformed into cheap and efficient instruments for training the youth for commercial and industrial jobs; or will they become studios for the training of efficient workers and intelligent citizens? Is the school of the future to be a mere trade school; or is it to become an engine for improving human beings, for developing men and women who will be more than cogs in our great industrial mechanism? These are some of the insistent questions which our educational workers ought to solve in the near future. Fundamentally, the problem is one of educational ideals and values, in other words, of class versus mass interest, or of occupational versus social welfare.

The practical ideal calls for a standardized product; the social ideal for an individualized prod-

uct. And the adherents of the former are insistent in urging the claims of a "business administration." Now, the chief merit of a business administration in a factory, a store, or a school is found in a reduction of the expenses of production; and this result is normally accomplished by standardizing methods, processes, and output. Can the American people afford to mould boys and girls in our schools as the shop manager turns out bolts, hammers, and hoes? Can we conserve and develop our human resources without insisting that our schools send forth an individualized product at a somewhat higher expense of production? In short, is not the demand for a business administration a consequence of taking a selfish and short-sighted view of the problem? It seems to involve the sacrifice of the future and of the child in the immediate interest of business and of the tax-payer. Efficient teaching and efficient administration are desirable; but good factory management applied to the school system does not necessarily spell good school administration. The social standard must be thrown overboard if the American people insist upon a standardized, low-expense-of-production school output. Economical management is not, however, a misnomer in a studio or in a school. Unnecessary waste of materials or of efforts is to be deprecated; but the prime motive should be to turn out a good rather than a cheap product.

11. The Need of a Yardstick.—Before it will be possible to obtain a semblance of unanimity

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between these conflicting interests in regard to educational standards and values, some fairly definite standard of judgment for all social and political institutions must be utilized. This is a prime essential. Is there any yardstick for the measurement of social values which will be acceptable to many different classes and interests? The customary standard of recent decades has been social welfare, the good of society considered as a unit. But this popular criterion is open to the serious indictment of indeterminateness and ambiguity; it is too indefinite for practical use. Social welfare is interpreted in as many ways as there are different classes and interests in the community; and industrial progress has in recent decades increased the number of interests, and has brought different nationalities into contact with each other. If we are to judge accurately of the influence of industry upon social progress, of the value of any social or political institution, or of the importance of any proposed measure of reform, some fairly definite, tangible, and fundamental standard must first be established which will supersede that of social welfare or of the good of the greatest number. If this can be successfully accomplished, all except the most radical reformers or the revolutionists on one hand, and the most reactionary of the conservatives on the other, should be able to meet upon common ground, and to work in practical harmony in hastening institutional reforms of various kinds. Professor Ross has insisted that policies and in-

stitutions should be evaluated according to their significance in improving the character and stamina of the human race or the "breed of men." All can fairly well agree upon a definition of health, efficiency, and individual and social stamina ; but not upon that abstract concept, the good of all or social welfare. Few there are who will openly question the desirability of any institution or of any measure which will aid in raising the standard of health, economic efficiency, or intellectual acumen. Industrial or vocational education, or any other policy from socialism to the abolition of child labor in factories, should stand or fall by this definite, fundamental, and universal test : Does or does it not tend to improve the health, vigor, and efficiency of the race ? ¹

12. **The School should Exist for Workers as Well as Non-Workers.**—It is clear that in a democracy the school should reach workers as well as non-workers. Not so to do is to discriminate against the poorer and weaker classes in the community. Education and industry once went hand in hand ; through the introduction of manual training we are attempting again to unite them. But the vital need of the present is education for those who are forced to enter our shops, stores, and offices without coming into contact with the training which our schools ought

¹ Carlton, " Report of the Committee on the Place of Industries in Public Education, National Education Association," 1910, pp. 13-14.

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to give in science, history (not chronology), and literature. The ideal school of the future will not close its doors in the face of the worker as the whirling wheels of the factory stop, the click of the typewriter ceases, and the constant hum of the cash carrier dies away. No educational system which does not aim to reach young workers as well as those who are not obliged early to earn their daily bread, is worthy of high rank in the present era. The public schools have not adequately provided for the educational needs of the young workers ; this has been largely left to private correspondence schools and the Y. M. C. A. night schools. In preceding centuries the burden-bearers of the race were considered to be unworthy of an education. Because of social inertia and class demarkations, our ideas in regard to the proper scope of a public school system are still influenced and colored by the old prejudices against the wage earner. The high school, the continuation school, the college, and the university ought to stand ready to help any one in the community in any important line of study or of investigation. The school system should be for "any one, anywhere, any time." The school of the future should be an all-year, six-day week school. The school day should be lengthened. The school of the future should be a day school, a night school, and a continuation school. It should be a workshop, a gymnasium, and a social centre as well as a place for study.

SUMMARY

Education is a method of passing the experience of preceding generations to the youth of the nation.

But it should be more than a mere passive agent; education should be a directive force working for social uplift.

With changing industrial conditions, the scope, ideals and methods of the educational system are modified.

But educational standards are conflicting.

The demands of business men and of social reformers do not coincide.

The American people must soon decide which standard shall be adopted by the public school system.

Certainly, the school system in a democratic nation should aid in improving the character and stamina of the race; and it should reach workers as well as non-workers.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Is the Church effectively using its powerful influence against the adoption of the narrow or practical standard of education for the great mass of children?

Are the schools in your community used as social centres?

Are your schools provided with equipment for physical training?

What are the sanitary conditions in your schools?

How large a percentage of children in your community drop out of school before entering high school? Before graduating from high school? Why do so many drop out?

V

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

WOMAN and Child Labor is an Old Phenomenon.—The primitive woman was the first industrial worker.

Throughout all historical epochs women have borne their full share of the burden of producing and preparing food, clothing, and shelter,—the elemental necessities of mankind. But this work has in the past been performed in close connection with the home; it has indeed been an integral part of the duties of home life. Child labor is also not a new phenomenon accompanying and growing out of the factory system. And neither woman nor child labor is in essence evil. Each and every boy and girl of ten to sixteen years of age ought to do some productive work, regularly and systematically. Productive activity is an essential part of the educative process. The dangers in connection with both the woman and the child labor of to-day are connected with the conditions of work—routine, long working day, insanitary surroundings, etc.—found in our factories, stores, offices, and sweat-shops.

2. **Statistics of Woman and Child Labor.**—Until recent decades practically all child and woman workers were not wage earners. The

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transfer to gainful or breadwinning occupations has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The increase of child (under sixteen years of age) labor is being checked by legislation; but the woman breadwinner has secured a permanent foothold in industry. In 1900, about one in every five women, sixteen years of age or over, was a wage earner. The amount of unpaid work done by women in the home must, of course, still be very considerable.

In 1909, a total of 6,615,046 wage earners were employed in the manufacturing plants of the nation. Of this number, 1,290,389, or 19.5 per cent., were females sixteen years of age and over, and 161,493, or 2.5 per cent., were children under sixteen years of age. The total number of female wage earners was larger in 1909 than in 1904 or 1899, but the percentage of the total number was the same in each of the three years for which Census statistics are available. The percentage of child workers in manufacture has declined slightly,—3.4 per cent. in 1899, 2.9 per cent. in 1904, and 2.5 per cent. in 1909. In the mining industries of the country, 8,151 boys under sixteen years of age, or 0.8 per cent. of the total number of wage earners in the industry, were employed in 1909. In 1900, 1,750,178 wage workers, ten to fifteen years of age, were reported in all industries. Of this number, 1,264,411 were boys and 485,767 were girls. In 1880, there were reported 7,462 saleswomen, or 23.1 per cent. of all store employees. In 1900, the

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percentage was practically the same,—23.3 per cent. ; but the total number had increased to 142,265. In manufacture, the largest percentage of child workers, 10.4, is found in the cotton goods industry. In hosiery and knit goods, the percentage is 8.1 ; and in the silk and silk goods industry, 8.0. The artificial flower industry has the highest percentage of adult women workers, 83.7. The percentage among the confectionery workers is 58.1. The silk industry stands high in the list with 57.1 per cent.

3. Legislation.—In the United States, the regulation of working conditions in factories, stores, offices, etc., is a state, not a national, function. Therefore, there is as yet little uniformity in such legislation. Each State has its own peculiar legislation which is different from that of any other State. At present such organizations as the American Association for Labor Legislation and the National Child Labor Committee are using their influence to bring about greater uniformity. Among the subjects ordinarily dealt with in matters of labor legislation are the regulation of the length of the working day, the prohibition of night work, provisions relating to safety and to sanitary conditions, the time of payment of wages, and special regulations in regard to hazardous occupations. Broadly speaking, European countries have adopted better labor laws than the great majority of the States of the United States. More accurate information is needed in regard to the conditions under which

men, women, and children work, and a wide dissemination of such information is highly desirable.

All American States now have on their statute books some provision in regard to child labor. But unfortunately up to the present time (1913), no State protects all of its child workers. In the majority of the Northern and Eastern States, the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories, stores, workshops, or mines, is prohibited. In employments considered dangerous to health or morals, the age limit is raised. In the street trades and in agricultural pursuits, the limit is usually lower or no limitation is provided. As a rule, children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are allowed to work provided they are granted working papers. Working papers may be granted if the child has completed a certain amount of school work, if the earnings of the child are needed by the family, and if the child is in good physical condition. Night work is prohibited in a considerable number of States. The exact provisions of the law are, of course, different in different States. In the South, the laws are less stringent than in the North.

An increasing number of States are passing legislation relating to the work of adult women. Michigan limits the working time for women and children in factories, laundries, and stores to nine hours per day and fifty-four hours per week. At least two States, California and Washington,

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have established an eight-hour day for women and children. Several States have provided that ten hours shall constitute the legal working day for female employees. Night work by adult women is prohibited in Massachusetts, South Carolina, Nebraska and Indiana. Many States have passed laws prohibiting the employment of women in certain occupations. Many health regulations relating to working women are found on the statute books of the various commonwealths. Massachusetts and seven other States provide for the establishment of minimum wage boards in certain industries. And a Utah statute fixes a minimum wage for different classes of women and child workers.

The enforcement of labor legislation is usually placed in the hands of a labor commissioner or commission. Under the commissioner or commission is employed a corps, usually inadequate, of factory inspectors. A few States still make practically no provision for enforcing labor laws. The efficient administration and enforcement of labor legislation is to-day of greater practical importance than the passage of more legislation. The difficulties in connection with the enforcement of labor laws are many. The laws are often hastily and improperly drafted; both employer and employee are frequently willing and anxious to evade the law; the general public too often manifests little interest in the matter; reform organizations often erroneously conceive that their work is ended when desired

legislation is finally placed upon the statute books; the corps of inspectors is often insufficient, inefficient, and poorly paid; and court decisions may hamper the enforcement of the law or nullify it.

4. **Legal Status of Legislation.**—Each and every piece of labor legislation is forced in this country to run the gauntlet of both the state and the federal courts and constitutions. It may be declared unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, because it conflicts with some provision of either state or federal constitution. The right of a State to regulate child labor is no longer questioned. The child is a ward of the State, and as such is unable to make legally binding contracts. The police power of the State can be extended to protect the child workers of the nation.

In regard to adult women workers, the legal situation is not quite as clear; but the tendency of the courts undoubtedly is towards a recognition of the right of the lawmaking bodies to regulate the conditions under which women may work for wages. The United States Supreme Court has declared an Oregon law limiting the hours of women workers in laundries to ten hours per day to be constitutional. State Supreme Courts have handed down similar decisions. In the Oregon laundry case before the United States Supreme Court and in the Ritchie case before the Illinois Supreme Court, decisions favorable to laws limiting the working day were handed down because a long working day was

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held to be detrimental to the health of women and, therefore, a menace to the future children of working women. Because of the detrimental effect of a long working day for women, upon the stamina of the race, the courts held that a law limiting the hours of labor of women constituted a legitimate exercise of the police power. Other laws relating to the conditions under which women work must stand practically the same test.

In the case of adult males, the provisions of the federal constitution and of many of the state constitutions, render null and void legislation in regard to hours of labor, night work, and the like, unless it can be clearly and unmistakably shown to the satisfaction of the courts that the occupation is distinctly dangerous or unhealthful. A law limiting the hours of labor in mines was declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court; but one limiting the hours in bakeries was declared unconstitutional by the same tribunal. Laws in regard to safety devices, fire escapes, and the like are constitutional even though applying only to adult males. Outside of public employment, shorter hours of labor for adult male wage earners must apparently come through trade union action. However, the Supreme Court of Mississippi has recently upheld a ten hour law applying to all adults employed in manufacture.

5. Childhood is a Preparatory Period.—
The tendency towards the enactment of more and

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more stringent child labor laws indicates that in the near future labor in practically all gainful occupations will be illegal when performed by children under fifteen years of age. At least it is not visionary to anticipate that such legislation will be passed in all Northern States within a few years. Childhood should be a period of preparation for usefulness when adult life is reached. While children should be required to participate in productive activity, the prime purpose of such activity should be developmental; the pecuniary reward received, if any, should be a secondary consideration. The shop and the factory are organized for profit and the production of goods. They are not prepared to perform the function of educating boys and girls in an efficient manner. The work of giving the American youth contact with productive industry must hereafter devolve in a large measure upon the public school system. It is an important part of the work of the schools. Both the vocational training and the vocational guidance of the youth must be assumed by our educational authorities. The problem cannot be solved by our shops and factories; and it is too big to be handled by the individual parent. It is a communal task. And the leaders of public opinion ought to emphasize this important fact.

6. The Fundamental Child Labor Problem.—The children who are forced out of school and into industry at an early age are overworked, under-educated, and improperly pre-

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pared to enter a skilled occupation. On the other hand, the child that stays in school until the end of the tenth or twelfth grade is too often out of touch with the practical affairs of life. And too frequently he has too much unoccupied time. When vacations and absences are considered, "it appears that on an average the school keeps children busy about one-third of the time when they are awake." Some of the children are spending their out-of-school hours in hard work in stores, in the street trades, as delivery boys, and in other blind-alley occupations. Others are idling away their time on the street and in questionable places of amusement. The great child problem of to-day is that of obtaining a mean between overwork and no-work. The basal problem is to dovetail intellectual training, play, and vocational training. Modern industry by depriving the home of many forms of home work and by destroying the home playground has introduced new and grave difficulties into the boy and girl problem. The child worker is in no more danger than is the child standing around "waiting for something to turn up."

Both the boy and the girl need training in regular constructive work; both need opportunity for healthful play in a wholesome environment. But overwork and under-play constitute a menace. The school system must face this problem. The solution involves, as was advocated in the preceding chapter, an all-year school year, a six-day week, a longer school day, voca-

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tional training, supervised play, and perhaps a half-time school for young workers. It does not necessarily mean more purely intellectual drill, and it may mean less. The advocate of legislation prohibiting child labor who believes that the passage and enforcement of such statutes solves the problem, is a very superficial student of society.

7. **Child Labor is an Economic Mistake.**—The stinging indictment which the anti-child labor agitators are now reading against child labor is that it is an economic mistake. The element of pity, the sentiment of humanitarianism, is no longer placed conspicuously in the foreground. It is being urged that child labor does not pay. Child labor is held to be an expensive and inefficient form of labor for the employer to hire. And from a national view-point, child labor is a menace because it tends to cripple the next generation of adult workers and to lower their stamina and efficiency. The utilization of the child in mill and mine is like "grinding the seed corn." This kind of argument, repeatedly driven home by representatives of various child welfare organizations, and supplementing the old sentimental arguments, is giving a powerful impetus to the passage and enforcement of laws restricting gainful child labor. The agitation against gainful child labor is now an integral part of the important and encouraging movement for the conservation of the human resources of the nation.

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It is also an educational fallacy to build fine, well-equipped buildings and maintain a well-trained corps of teachers, and then to allow the young child to go early into industry. If modern industry provides excellent training for youthful workers, then let less money be expended for schools and teachers; but, if it does not, the American people should firmly demand that all children have an actual opportunity to get the benefit of the educational facilities offered by an improved public school system.

8. **Woman's Work.**—Any scientific consideration of the tendencies in connection with the home, home life, and the work of women is quite certain to cut across many traditional ideas and ingrained, inherited prejudices. Consequently, a discussion of woman's work is likely to provoke harsh criticism. The reader is asked to consider the following pages as calmly and dispassionately as possible.

The American woman, married or unmarried, is finding many new interests outside the four walls of the house in which she lives and outside the confines of the immediate neighborhood. And even a cursory glance at the progress of industrial evolution proves almost conclusively that this phenomenon is likely to be more rather than less noticeable in the future. Man's work has undergone great transformations as the result of the development of modern industry, and woman's work is now passing through a similar transformation. Although public opinion by fostering

a sentiment opposed to the earning of wages by women, particularly after marriage, may retard the movement of industry outside the family residence, a careful study of recent industrial history points to the conclusion that household industry is doomed to undergo important transformations within a few decades.

It is, of course, not impossible that other potent forces and influences may counteract the tendencies which are disclosed by a study of industrial history; but the burden of proof lies upon the shoulders of those who assert that they can clearly discern such forces and influences. In all other lines of productive activity, sooner or later the method or policy which runs counter to the forces making for efficiency, and for the reduction of unnecessary expenditures of human energy, gives way to a new method or policy. Household industry may never become large-scale, but it has passed through great transformations in recent years, and is destined to undergo further modifications.

A fact also capable of demonstration is that not only are many forms of work formerly done within the home now performed outside the home, but that many kinds of work now often performed within the home may be more efficiently done outside or by specialists coming into the house at stated intervals. As long as household industry remains small-scale and non-specialized, the work performed may be expected to lack scientific precision and a high degree of efficiency will not be

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attained. Unless women follow their work outside the home, they must perforce become idlers or perform work inside the home at a great disadvantage from the standpoint of economic efficiency.

The progress of industry out of the home has been retarded partly because the woman in the home has not been a wage earner. Her time was not considered to be of economic importance. In reckoning the cost of articles made at home for the use of the family, no allowance is usually made for a time or piece wage for the women of the household. As a consequence, clothes made at home in an inefficient manner by small-scale methods have often competed successfully with those made outside according to efficient and up-to-date factory methods.

9. The Solution.—Like those connected with child labor, the problems connected with adult female labor are social. But these problems are not to be solved, like those connected with child workers, by withdrawing the women workers from the busy industrial world. They are not to be solved by making the wage-earning woman a non-wage earner. The solution lies in the improvement of working conditions,—shortening the working day, reducing the danger to health, life, and morals. In short, the problem is that of humanizing industry. The Church can do much to aid various organizations which are endeavoring to improve working conditions, and it can also perform efficient service in crystalliz-

ing public sentiment in favor of the enactment and enforcement of better labor laws.

The working woman is the normal woman. Living in "decorative idleness" is as abnormal for the woman as it is for the man. Idleness, the performance of useless work, or working under conditions which make for low efficiency, as many housewives must, is as undesirable in the case of women as in the case of men. Useful and efficient productive activity is the birthright of each and every individual. The individual or group denied this right is on the toboggan which leads towards weakness and degeneracy. Parasitism in the case of women as well as in the case of men is a racial menace. Working women rather than idle women have normal instincts. Olive Schreiner has well stated the demand of normal, far-seeing women of to-day. "We demand that in this new strange world which is arising alike upon men and women, where nothing is as it was, and all things are assuming new shapes and relations, we demand that in this new world we also shall have our share of honored and socially useful human toil, our half of the labor of the children of woman." Both economic considerations and the necessities of racial advance demand that woman continue, but under new and better conditions, to be an industrial worker.

SUMMARY

Women and children have for ages been industrial workers; but modern industry has transformed working conditions.

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American States are rapidly placing new legislation on their statute books relating to hours, night work, and other conditions of labor.

Childhood should be a period of preparation and of activity. Intellectual training, vocational training, and play are essentials in the development of each and every child.

From a social view-point, child labor is wasteful.

Woman's work is now undergoing great transformations.

The normal woman is not an idler.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Is your church actively working for better labor laws?

Are the labor laws now on the statute books enforced in your community?

How many women and children are wage earners in your community?

What are the effects of child labor in industry upon adult workers?

VI

WAGES AND HOURS

ACCURATE Wage Statistics are Difficult to Obtain.—All statistics of wages covering a given occupation or a State must of necessity be considered to be only approximately accurate. The United States Bureau of Labor and the Bureaus of Labor of Massachusetts, New Jersey, and perhaps a few other States give some fairly accurate wage statistics. The Census Bureau also presents some wage statistics which are fairly reliable. But nearly all other statistics covering an entire industry or an entire State must be used with caution.

2. **Statistics.**—Using the best statistics available, Dr. Scott Nearing has estimated the wages of adult workers at the opening of the second decade of the century for the great industrial region north of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Rocky Mountains. A deduction of twenty per cent. from the total working time is made for unemployment. The first table presents the estimates for adult males; the second for adult females.

TABLE I

1 of the total number receive less than \$325 per year							
10	"	"	"	"	"	500	"
1	"	"	"	"	"	600	"
2	"	"	"	"	"	800	"
3	"	"	"	"	"		
4	"	"	"	"	"		
5	"	"	"	"	"		
6	"	"	"	"	"		
7	"	"	"	"	"		
8	"	"	"	"	"		
9	"	"	"	"	"		
10	"	"	"	"	"		

TABLE II

1905	of the total number receive less than \$200 per year	
1908	" " " " " "	325 "
1910	" " " " " "	600 "

According to the Bureau of the Census, making no allowance for unemployment, of the adult males employed in the manufacturing industries of the United States, in 1905, 25 per cent. received less than \$8 per week or \$416 per year, and 50 per cent. received less than \$10.25 per week or \$533 per year. According to the Census of 1910, the average wage paid factory wage earners—men, women, and children—was \$518 per year. The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission in 1911 found that 41 per cent. of the adult women candy workers and 22 per cent. of the adult women cotton workers in that State earned less than \$5.00 per week. As the result of a municipal investigation made in Kansas City in 1911 by an official committee, it was estimated that one-half of the wage-earning girls in that city earned \$6.00 or less per week. And the investigating committee held that \$9.00 per week was a living wage.

In 1908, a committee appointed by the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections, after a painstaking study of the cost of living in New York City estimated that \$825 is sufficient for the average family of five individuals, comprising the father, mother, and three children under fourteen years of age, to maintain a fairly proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan. In other parts of New York City

and in smaller cities the amount might be slightly reduced. This means that the income of the heads of families must in a large percentage of cases be supplemented by the earnings of wife or children or by taking boarders and renting rooms, or the family income will fall below the amount deemed necessary for a decent standard of living. The cost of food forms a large item in the total expenditure of the low-income family. In seventy-two New York families investigated having a family income of \$600 to \$700 per year, 44.6 per cent. of the total income was spent for food. In recent years the price of foodstuffs has been rising rapidly and the wage earners have "felt the pinch." According to careful estimates made by the United States Bureau of Labor, covering the period, 1890 to 1913, the relative retail prices "weighted according to the average consumption of the various articles of food in working men's families," were in the ratio of 95.2 in 1896, the year of lowest prices, to 154.2 in 1912,—an increase of more than sixty per cent.

An imposing array of fairly accurate figures might easily be presented. These statistics could be gathered from different parts of the nation and from different industries for the purpose of proving that the wages of both men and women are very low. But it seems unwise to multiply statistics in this section. The wages of women are considerably lower than those of men; and the wage received by a large percentage of workers, particularly women workers, is less than an

adequate living wage. A variety of reasons may be assigned for the low wages paid women relative to those received by men. One of the fundamental reasons is found in the fact that few young girls expect to remain long as wage earners; and, as a consequence, they too frequently enter blind-alley occupations. The typical female wage earner changes frequently from one position to another, is unskilled, under-paid, and often over-worked. A study of factory girls in New York City led to the conclusion that only approximately one-half of the positions obtained are held for more than six months. As long as woman's work outside the home is considered to be a make-shift, it may be expected that women workers will be unskilled and poorly paid.¹

3. **The Menace of Low Wages.**—Equality of opportunity is an essential part of the American concept of justice between individuals. But can equality of opportunity obtain while many receive wages which are below a living wage? There is in the United States and elsewhere, a fairly well marked division of classes or groups of people according to income received. Professor Seager divides American families into five classes. In the first class, the income is \$3,000 or more per year. The second group may be called the great middle class. The children in the families of these two groups have excellent care and training. The third class includes the skilled workers. The standard of living of this

¹ Reread the last two sections of the preceding chapter.

class is somewhat lower than that of the middle class. Its members marry earlier in life, have larger families, and their children begin to earn their living at an earlier age than is the case in the middle class. The unskilled workers belong to the fourth group. "Their hours are long and their labor exhausting, and in consequence their lives afford little opportunity for attention to other than the merely physical wants. Early marriages are facilitated by the fact that the full earning power of men of this class is attained at nineteen or twenty, and that their standard of living opposes no barrier so long as work is steady and wages are certain. Children come in this class before the parents have themselves reached maturity, and their number, and the rude way in which the family is compelled to live, prevent the mother from giving them the attention that their interests demand. As these children approach the age when they can go to school they are allowed to spend more and more time on the streets and to acquire knowledge so destructive of the idealism natural to children. In school their progress is retarded by the lack of that stimulus and encouragement on the side of parents which is so helpful to children reared in more fortunate circumstances, and just as they are getting old enough to form judgments for themselves their help is needed at home, or jobs are secured for them, and the formal part of their education is brought to an abrupt close."¹

¹ Seager, "Introduction to Economics," p. 239.

In the fifth class is found the "submerged tenth." These groups are more or less distinct and non-competing. Individuals may rise above or fall below the group into which they were born ; but the great mass find their work and status in life determined by their parentage and early environment and training. This is contrary to an opinion quite generally accepted by complacent Americans ; but it is a fairly accurate statement of the situation at the present time.

Recently, the matter of low wages, particularly when paid to women, has attracted much attention. Many have asserted that prostitution and the white slave traffic were the direct results of low wages paid to young women. Others have vigorously opposed this dictum. It is probably true that a low wage is not, in a large percentage of cases, the direct cause of moral degradation ; but, as has been indicated above, the wage rate does in no small measure determine the approximate location of the home or the boarding place in the town or city, the environmental influences surrounding it, the opportunities for recreation and amusement, the amount of schooling received, and the nature of other potent factors in forming the character of the young. Many young girls, and young men also, are forced, or at least go, into industry at an early age while their characters and their bodies are still in the process of formation and growth, while they are still plastic and impressionable, at a time when they ought to be in school or on the playground. As long

as these conditions, coupled with low wages, a long working day, nervous strain, and the lack of opportunity for wholesome amusement, exist, a potent and constant force is exerted to produce unsocial and degrading conduct. And, on the whole, the temptations which come to the poorly paid girl are stronger, more compelling, and more recurrent than those which assail one receiving a larger income. A popular writer has written wisely, "The girl who wants food and a decent room and warm clothing and a touch of finery, who wants to feel that she is living, is in no fit condition to resist temptations which offer her all these things, and more." And Michigan's efficient woman factory inspector, Miss Burton, writes: "Pretty clothes and a few of the luxuries are as much a necessity to the normal girl as food and sunshine and shelter."

Surely in these days of marvellous productivity, of increasing wealth, and of gigantic undertakings, the person possessed of an inquiring spirit may ask whether poverty must necessarily accompany progress? Is not the subsistence wage a survival of the days of the pre-machinery and pre-steam-engine age? And is it not time that we individually and as members of various organizations, societies, and churches, not only inquire, but earnestly tackle the job of eliminating extreme poverty in a land of plenty?

4. **Real and Money Wages.**—Wages may be divided into two classes—money and real wages. Money wages is, as the name indicates,

the wage received measured in terms of dollars and cents. The real wage of the worker is the wage received when computed in necessities, comforts, and savings which the wage earner is able to obtain as the result of his daily toil. If the level of prices for the bulk of commodities rises, the real wage will fall provided no rise occurs in the money wage. Conversely, if the level of prices falls, real wages will rise. From the standpoint of the wage earner, the crucial test of the adequacy or inadequacy of a wage rate can only be ascertained by considering real rather than money wages. As prices have been rising for the last decade and a half, the tendency has been to force a reduction of the real wages of the workers; this tendency has been counteracted in some measure by the rise in money wages.

A broader and more accurate definition of real wages will include in that term not only the income of comforts and necessities derived from the money wage but also the services rendered by the community,—free education, parks, free disposal of garbage, provision for water, gas, and transportation at reduced rates, and a variety of other services. An increase in the services rendered by the community is equivalent to an increase in real wages, unless the increased expenditure is made possible by a tax which directly or indirectly falls upon money wages.

5. Wages and Taxation.—This enlarged concept of real wages leads directly to the consideration of the vexatious and important prob-

lems connected with the taxation and regulation of monopolies. Trade unionists, social reformers, and students of economics have not laid sufficient emphasis upon taxation as a method of reducing the burdens placed upon industry and as a means of improving the condition of the wage earners of the nation. The flow of national income—material goods and services—is divided into wages, interest, depreciation, rent, profits, monopoly gains, chance gains, and the like. Land rent cannot be legislated out of existence; and wages cannot be directly raised by legislation or by trade union action so as to reduce greatly or to eliminate monopoly gains. Rents may, however, be partially, if not wholly, diverted into the public treasury. Through the taxation of land values and franchises, and through governmental ownership and operation of public utilities and other monopolies, the governmental income may be considerably increased. As a consequence, the taxation of capital and of competitive businesses could be reduced. And the services furnished to the community by the municipality and the State may be increased, and the charges for such services may be eliminated or reduced.

6. **Hours.**—The introduction of machinery pushed the question of the length of the working day into the foreground. In the preceding eras when the work of the world was performed with crude hand tools and unaided human energy, only the bare necessities of life could be obtained by working diligently from sun to sun. Ma-

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chinery and steam made possible the emancipation of the human worker from the dreary round of incessant toil. Leisure now becomes possible for each and for all ; and democracy becomes more than an iridescent dream. But the reduction of the working day has not followed automatically the introduction of labor-saving devices. And in many industries in which a reduction has taken place, it has availed the wage earner very little because the overstrain and speeding-up have increased as the hours have been reduced. The pressure of organized labor and the force of legal enactments have, as a rule, been the potent means by which the wage earners have gained the shorter working day. The demand for a shorter working day is one of the oldest and most frequently reiterated of the demands of organized labor ; and in standing for the short day organized labor has exhibited a keen insight in regard to the fundamental forces making for industrial betterment. Social justice can never be approximated as long as long hours and overstrain continue. The words of Professor Patten are to the point. "Ten hours of sedentary routine in crowded rooms, or of hard manual work that offers no perspectives to the mind, stupefy the laborer and drain the force that ought to be stored for to-morrow. Whoever has seen such a toiler after he has slipped from the harness, saturated with fatigue, dozing heavily in a chair or urging his faculties more actively by recourse to the excitements of

the streets, knows that no profits can overcome the losses of the long day." ¹ The worker should gain not only a shorter working day but also the elimination of overstrain and relentless speeding-up.

The average working day is somewhat shorter than it was a century ago. In certain hazardous occupations like that of mining, and in some occupations in which the trade unions are strong, such as the building and the printing trades, an eight-hour day is customary. But in many others, the long working day is still the rule. In 1910, an investigation showed that over one-fifth of the employees in the iron and steel industry worked eighty-four or more hours per week,—at least twelve hours per day for seven days each week. In the blast furnace department, eighty-eight per cent. of the total worked regularly seven days per week. In the blast furnace department of the iron and steel industry continuous operation is a practical necessity. But humanity and racial preservation demand three shifts of eight hours each. In 1910, the women ticket agents of the Chicago elevated railways were regularly working twelve hours per day and seven days per week. In the candy industry in Chicago, 1908-1909, women were reported as working during the rush season as many as ninety hours in a week. An investigation recently made of Michigan's canneries disclosed the following exceptional case of a woman

¹ Patten, "New Basis of Civilization," pp. 190-191.

worker. A forewoman in one of the factories worked the following number of hours per week in six, not consecutive, weeks,—84, 102, 90, $91\frac{1}{2}$, 100, 115. The last four weeks indicated were consecutive. In California canneries, weeks of $96\frac{1}{2}$, 90, and 83 hours are reported; in the Baltimore canneries, weeks of 93, $91\frac{1}{2}$, and 81 hours are reported. The twelve-hour day and the seven-day week are both unnecessary and brutalizing.

7. **The Economy of the Short Working Day.**—Over a century ago in England, attempts to limit the hours of labor were met with the cry that such legislation would ruin England's manufacture. It was asserted that the manufacturer's profits were derived from the output of the last hour or hours of the day. If the length of the working day were reduced, the profits of the manufacturer would be eliminated and the industry would be destroyed. In spite of these doleful and often-repeated prophecies, the reduction in the working day was not followed by the promised industrial disaster. And yet in the light of a century of experience with the reduction of the working day, the old cry that industry will be ruined by eight-hour legislation is still retarding progress. In fact, reducing the hours of labor from twelve and fourteen to eight and nine per day has not diminished the total volume of production. The shorter working day leads to greater rapidity of movement on the part of the worker, it increases his efficiency, and it has

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caused machinery to be introduced more rapidly. Only a few definite statistics tending to prove the economy of the short working day are available. Certain laboratory experiments show that the second or third hour of work in the morning marks the period of maximum productivity. After that period the output per hour decreases until the noon period of rest. The output for the first hour after noon is higher than that of the last hour before noon. But the decline of productivity after the noon hour is quite rapid. The last hours of the long day are periods of inefficiency. And too great exhaustion militates against to-morrow. Quite careful experiments made in 1900 by the Zeiss optical factory located at Jena, in 1893-1894 by the Salford Iron Works of Manchester, England, in 1893 by the Engis Chemical Works near Liege, Belgium, and in 1892 by the Solvay Process Company of Syracuse, New York, led in each case to the permanent adoption of the eight-hour day.¹

The eight-hour day was introduced into the bituminous coal industry in the fall of 1897. Before that date ten hours had been the length of the working day. In 1895 and 1896, under the ten-hour system the average output per day per worker for the "country at large" was 2.9 and 2.72 tons respectively. In 1898, 1899, and 1900, the first three years under the eight-hour system,

¹ Goldmark, "Fatigue and Efficiency," pp. 133-167; Carlton, "History and Problems of Organized Labor," pp. 140-141.

the average output ranged from 2.98 to 3.09 tons.¹ And the result seems to be due to increased efficiency on the part of the worker rather than to an increased use of machinery.

SUMMARY

Statistics prove that the typical American wage earner receives a low wage.

Low wages produce inequality of opportunity.

Can poverty be eliminated?

The usual definition of real wages is inadequate. The taxing power can be used to raise real wages.

Machinery makes possible the reduction of the working day. The average working day is shorter to-day than in earlier decades.

The short working day does not necessarily mean reduced output.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What rates of wages are paid men, women and children in your community?

Are any wage earners in your community receiving less than a "living wage"?

Do the stores in your town close early?

What can be done to insure every worker a living wage?

¹ Goldmark, "Fatigue and Efficiency," p. 170.

VII

EMPLOYMENT

NUMBER of Persons Engaged in Different Occupations.—In 1900, 29,074,117 persons were reported as gainfully employed in the United States. These were in five large classes:—10,381,765 in agricultural pursuits, 1,258,739 in professional service, 5,580,657 in domestic and personal service, 4,766,964 in trade and transportation, 7,085,992 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. In 1910, 7,678,578 persons were reported as engaged in manufacture, of whom 6,615,046 were wage earners. The remainder were proprietors and salaried employees. Housewives are not considered by our Census statisticians as gainfully employed.

The absolute and relative number of workers engaged in routine work and in highly subdivided forms of labor is increasing. These kinds of work are usually called unskilled; but we are beginning to realize that the term unskilled labor is a misnomer. There are, however, many unskilled or inefficient laborers in all trades or occupations. The term, unskilled, ought to be applied to the workers rather than to the occupation. A large fraction of the rou-

tine and monotonous work, not requiring considerable physical strength, is being turned over to women wage earners.

2. **Overwork.**—In the preceding chapter, it was shown that from the standpoint of profits, the short—eight- or nine-hour—day was more desirable than the ten- or twelve-hour day. From another, and a broader, view-point the short working day is desirable. Long hours and intensity of exertion wear out the worker at a time when he ought to be in his prime. “Old at forty” is too often at present the result of modern factory life. To reduce the intensity of exertion during working hours would undoubtedly involve grave difficulties. The most feasible method of conserving human energy is that of reducing the length of the working day.

This plea for the conservation of human energy is essentially democratic. It aims at remedying conditions which force the wage earners of the country prematurely to deplete their physical and intellectual energy. The industrial and the governmental régime which places output above the health and welfare of the working population is undemocratic. Good citizenship and racial uplift require a considerable modicum of leisure for each and every member of the community. Leisure, in the words of Miss Goldmark, “limits work, indeed, to make good the daily deficits, and to send back the worker physiologically prepared for another day. It frees the worker from toil before exhaustion deprives leisure of its po-

tentialities. It thus fulfills a reasoned purpose. As the physiological function of rest is to replace fatigue, so the function of the shorter day is to afford to working people physiological rest—with all that is implied further by way of leisure.”

A sweated industry is parasitic. It is a destroyer of human resources. It draws into its insatiable maw the youth of the land, overdrives them under abnormal and deteriorating conditions, and then, having worn them out in the fierce race for products and profits, cynically throws them upon the scrap-heap of industry to become the wards of the nation. National efficiency requires regulation and improvement of the sweated industry. Careful investigations have placed the right of the worker to rest, leisure, and the absence of overstrain upon a scientific sociological basis. A sweated industry may be distinguished by the following somewhat indefinite earmarks,—low wages, a long working day, insanitary workshops and speeded-up or overdriven workers. The clothing industry has been the greatest of all sweated industries. Sweating is not confined to the small workshop ; sweating is often found in the factory. The great iron and steel industry, the meat packing establishments, and the big department stores present many of the features which characterize a sweated industry.

3. Irregular Employment.—Casual or irregular labor is demoralizing. “The man,” writes Dr. Edward T. Devine, “who changes constantly

from job to job, with periods of idleness between, comes to every job demoralized, unskilled, unsteady, and unfit." Yet, to-day in the United States, the amount of unemployment and of irregular employment is alarming. The industrial world is confronted by a large floating, poorly educated, improperly trained, and undisciplined horde of wage earners. Young boys and girls leaving school early in life drifting from one blind-alley occupation to another are constantly recruiting the numbers. At the other end of the line, the older casual workers are entering the great and repulsive ranks of the vagrants, the unemployable, the pauper, and the criminal. One of the sorest spots in our social and industrial organism is that due to the existence of the casual worker and the man out-of-work.

Many industries are necessarily seasonal. A slack and a rush season are almost unavoidable in the building trades. In 1900, the Census figures indicated that out of every 1,000 masons, only 445, or less than one-half, had steady work throughout the year. The demand for agricultural laborers is much greater in the summer than in the winter. Seamen on the Great Lakes are thrown out of employment during the winter seasons. The only adequate solution for seasonal employment seems to be the dovetailing of different seasonal industries. For example, the seamen and the longshoremen on the Great Lakes might be utilized in the logging camps during the winter season. This solution obviously faces

many obstacles. There is frequently little or no incentive leading employers to aid in bringing about such an adjustment. And it is often difficult to dovetail appropriate industries together,—industries requiring approximately the same kind of skill and training.

4. **Unemployment.**—Accurate and comprehensive figures as to unemployment are not available. In New York and in Massachusetts fairly accurate statistics have been collected in regard to unemployment among organized workers. In Massachusetts, the percentage of unemployed in the membership of the unions reporting was 12.1 per cent. in 1908 ; 5.6 per cent. in 1909 ; 5.5 per cent. in 1910 ; 5.4 per cent. in 1911 ; and 4.5 per cent. in 1912. The percentage of unemployed fluctuates during each year. It is higher in the winter months than during other portions of the year. For the three months ending September 30, 1912, the percentage of unemployed was three ; and reports were received from unions having approximately seventy-five per cent. of the total membership of all labor organizations in the State. In the State of New York, on March 31, 1911, 20.3 per cent. of the union men were reported as unemployed, and 10.8 per cent. on September 30th of the same year. In 1908, a year in which the percentage of unemployment among wage earners was unusually large, the average percentage of unemployment among the wage earners "in representative trade unions" of New York reached the extraordinary rate of 29.7 per cent.

Or, on the average throughout the year, nearly thirty out of every 100 organized workers in the great State of New York were unemployed. The number of unemployed among the unskilled was probably somewhat higher. The coal mining industry reports a very high average of slack work. During the best years the anthracite and bituminous mines are idle about one-fourth of the working days of the year. The miners are forced through lack of work to be idle from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five days each year. To this excessive amount of unemployment must be added that due to sickness and other causes.

Such a situation in regard to many lines of industry is certainly one which should startle even the most optimistic or conservative of Americans, and lead them actively to seek some remedy for the evils which are growing out of it. Employers often increase the amount of unemployment unnecessarily. They adopt the method of hiring a larger number of men than are required for steady operation. "The normal state of every industry," declares one of the most careful students of unemployment, "is to be overcrowded with labor, in the sense of having drawn into it more men than can ever find employment in it at any one time." The establishment or industry will be operated with a large force for a rush period, after which the plant or plants will be partially or entirely shut down for a time. An investigator who studied the coal mining industry of West Virginia declares that the mine op-

erators employ from fifty to one hundred per cent. more men than would be needed for steady operation. The average number of working days in the month for the miner is reduced to from twelve to seventeen.¹ Similar conditions obtain in other industries. The sweated industries usually have one or more rush and slack seasons in each year. During the rush season the workers are crowded to the limit of human endurance. On the other hand, the slack season is one of unemployment and idleness for many.

The evil of "laying-off" men without notice or warning is the cause of much unemployment. A factory is built and equipped, and employees establish their homes within a short distance from the site of the factory. The business is prosperous; more and more wage earners are employed. The demand for the output of the establishment is overestimated, and presently the manager discovers that he is producing too large an output to be disposed of at a profit. This jerky method of doing business leads to alternate periods of taking on and laying off workers. Employees who have come to the factory community expecting a permanent job are suddenly discharged. Unemployment, job hunting, scarcity, want, and, perhaps, the necessity of removal to another home, face the man who is laid off and his family. This is especially disastrous for the man who marries and undertakes to establish a good home. And

¹ *The Survey*, April 5, 1913.

this process usually takes place wholly with reference to profits and not to the welfare of the working force and their families. Organized workers and the general public have good reasons for insisting that employers earnestly endeavor to spread their work out more evenly throughout the year and even through a period of years. But so long as an excess of unorganized, unskilled and unattached workers can be found outside the factory doors and around the mines, little incentive will be given the employer to systematize his work so as to avoid rush and slack seasons. A considerable supply of casual workers is also quite effective in keeping down wages and in discouraging the activity of union organizers.

5. **Looking for Jobs.**—The labor market, compared with the market for ordinary articles of merchandise, is in a disorganized condition. The average wage earner out of a job is still forced to go from employer to employer, from place to place, seeking employment. The method of finding a job corresponds quite closely to the discarded pack-pedlar method of selling goods. The market and the store are now the established instrumentalities utilized for bringing the commodities produced to the consumer. The employment bureau is the corresponding agency for facilitating the purchase and sale of labor power. Like the store, the normal function of the employment bureau is not to create a demand for labor or to increase the amount of labor power.

Its aim is solely that of bringing purchasers and sellers of labor power together in a systematic and businesslike manner. As yet employment agencies in the United States, with few exceptions, are crude and inefficient instruments. The managers of employment agencies are not as a rule thoroughly conversant with the merchandise which they supply. They are not as expert as the managers of stores or of departments in a department store. Too often the employer is unable to rely upon the judgment of the manager of the employment bureau. Labor power is a complex and unstandardized commodity, but the obstacles which tend to prevent placing its purchase and sale upon a business basis are not insuperable. The need of an efficient method of marketing labor power is pressing. Not only is drifting from job to job a demoralizing practice, but the discouraging, disheartening, aimless search for a job on the part of the unemployed is wasteful and demoralizing. Many a man who started out bravely and hopefully in search of a job has been transformed into a vagrant and an unemployable by the long-continued search. A well-organized system of employment bureaus could not make jobs, but it would reduce the number of industrial maladjustments and the amount of unemployment. The function of the employment bureau is both intra-industrial and inter-industrial.

In the United States, three different kinds of employment agencies exist: private, operated

for profit; private, operated by philanthropic associations; and free public employment bureaus. The private employment agency of the first type is found in nearly all cities. Some of these agencies perform a desirable service, but many of them are operated by unprincipled managers who often defraud the poor and helpless seeker for employment. In 1904, Miss Kellor found 522 licensed private agencies in New York City. Over one-half of the private agencies in large cities exclusively supply workers for the household. The employment agencies connected with the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., and with the associated charities of various cities do much good work. In 1912, fifteen States and a few cities in other States provided for free employment bureaus. In no State is the number maintained more than six, and in several only one such office is maintained. No State of the United States has as yet organized a unified system of free employment agencies.

6. Homeless Workers. — The conditions which to-day surround the workers in a number of the basic industries make for irregularity and degeneracy. "The woodmen are to-day homeless workers in logging camps; ice is also cut by the homeless man living in the bunk-house. Construction gangs working on railways, canals, reservoirs, and the like, are often herded together like cattle and live in insanitary quarters. Berries are picked, beet and onion fields weeded, and the grain of the West harvested by a class of

floating workers living and working under abnormal conditions,—conditions which endanger the physical and moral stamina of the workers. At the conclusion of the season many drift back to the cities to increase the debauchery, disease, and crime of our crowded centres of population.”¹ The abnormal life and the irregularity of the work make the social and moral problems connected with these elemental occupations very difficult of solution. Although it is primarily a rural problem, the drift back to the cities from time to time and during seasons of idleness makes the homeless worker in the country districts an additional complicating factor in our complex city problem. These homeless and temporarily idle workers increase the amount of drinking, gambling, debauchery, and crime in our cities. Many recent immigrants are of the mobile, floating type without strong home ties. They go readily from place to place, and they are not particular as to food, lodging, or working conditions.

7. **The Unemployable.**—At the bottom of the heap, pressed and crowded, is the great repulsive mass of the unemployable of working age,—defective, debilitated, crippled, criminal, vagrant. Since the American people are passing through a period of adjustment to city life and to large-scale, subdivided industry, a considerable percentage of the unadjustable and unemployable

¹The writer in “The History and Problems of Organized Labor,” p. 377.

may be anticipated ; but the large and increasing number of persons who must be classified as unemployable is becoming alarming even to those of an optimistic temperament. Reputable authorities unite in insistently pointing to the menacing increase in the number of defectives. Unnecessary sickness, insanitary homes and workshops, overwork, improper care and feeding of children and adults, a lack of adequate nourishment, liquor drinking, the drug habit, and vice are daily adding to the roll of the debilitated. Accidents on railways, in factories, and in mines are producing a great host of cripples and incapacitated. But the American people are being awakened to the problems connected with these classes of the unemployable. The 'propaganda for the conservation of the human resources of the nation is in no small measure directed against the causes which produce defectives, cripples, and debilitated persons. But even a brief consideration of the solution of the problems connected with these unfortunates and the criminals cannot be entered into in this volume.

The vagrants in the United States probably number about 500,000. This great drab army of tatterdemalions has been considered to be "a national joke." But it has been estimated that each vagrant receives on the average an income of \$200 per year, or, if these estimates be fairly accurate, about \$100,000,000 is spent annually upon this "national joke." The tramp produces nothing ; he adds considerably to the judicial and

police expenditures. The "knight of the road" is too expensive, too dangerous, and too numerous to be longer treated as a joke.

The tramp proper is a nomad. In primitive times, all persons were nomadic. Many of the American pioneers and frontiersmen were semi-nomadic. They followed the frontier line westward, moving from time to time as more settlers moved in. The twentieth century tramp is not purely a product of modern social and industrial conditions; the *wanderlust* is inherited. The tramp becomes more apparent as conditions become more settled, and as routine and regularity become increasingly characteristic of the business world. Nevertheless, irregular work, frequent discharges, and overwork lead many a young man, who otherwise would become an efficient and regular worker, to become a hobo. In the event of a crisis, a period of slack work, or some local industrial maladjustment, men are thrown out of work; they begin to tramp looking for jobs. Presently they find tramping an easy method of getting a living and of "seeing the world"; too many sympathetic, kind-hearted, but thoughtless, persons are willing to give them "hand-outs" without applying the work test. In many cases, never again will these amateur tramps hold jobs for any considerable lengths of time. The contrast between the regular job with its routine and punctuality and the care-free life of the vagrant is marked, and the latter has its strong appeal. The lure of the primitive is strong.

Again, an overworked, under-developed child worker frequently gets a taste of vacation and of tramp life, and never again can he be dragged back into routine made loathsome by premature toil as a wage earner. The semi-automatic machine requiring a monotonous, routine kind of work for a long working day from the machine tender, is responsible for the evolution of a large number of youthful workers into "rolling stones," casual workers, and finally unemployables. Many a young man enters a blind-alley occupation, and soon becomes dissatisfied with the routine or the lack of opportunity for advancement. Monotony and routine are especially distasteful to the young. Day after day, his work grows more and more repulsive. Suddenly one day he leaves in disgust or is discharged. He gets another position ; and the experience is repeated. Soon he drifts downward, he becomes first a casual worker, and finally an unemployable. Such is the brief, tragic life history of a great army of youths who are early forced into industry by adverse circumstances, or leave school scorning a low-paid apprenticeship-job leading to future usefulness, to enter an occupation paying a relatively high wage but without opportunity for future advancement. Youth, untrained and unadvised, is ever careless of the future. To them the present looms up big and fascinating. Large employers are realizing that the source of trained workers is drying up ; they are "feeling the pinch." The problems connected with the industrial and vo-

cational training of the young are important from both the industrial and the social view-points.

SUMMARY

The plea for the short working day and for the conservation of human energy is essentially democratic.

A sweated industry is parasitic.

Irregular employment is demoralizing.

The extent of unemployment in the United States is alarming.

The labor market is not well organized. Employment bureaus are not efficient agencies for the sale of labor power.

The homeless worker furnishes the American people with a perplexing problem.

At the bottom of the heap of humans is the mass of unemployables.

The vagrant is not "a national joke."

Irregular work or long-continued monotonous work is a potent cause of vagrancy.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

How does your town or city deal with tramps?

How large a percentage of the youth of your town or community enter "blind-alley" occupations?

What are the conditions in the cheap lodging houses of your city?

What is being done for the unemployed?

VIII

ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

WHY Labor is Organized.—It has been pointed out that industrial progress has taken the ownership of the tools or machines and of the finished product out of the hands of the workers. The worker has become a wage earner. He sells his labor power and receives a definite contractual income,—wages. The modern labor organization is an unmistakable sign of the existence of a distinct line of cleavage between employers and employees. Before the Civil War American labor organizations were weak and ephemeral. Large-scale industry was still in the making, and vast areas of fertile public land still remained untilled and unclaimed. But since the war consolidation in industry has led the wage earner to understand that his opportunity to become a small capitalist and an employer is slight. In the words of John Mitchell, "the average wage earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner." Many who under more primitive conditions would have eagerly looked forward to a career as a small business man must now be content with the more prosaic positions offered by large corporations. The blocking of

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the road to wealth and independent business careers is cementing the workers together. Class lines are being drawn more distinctly ; and the labor organizations are here,—permanent, aggressive, hopeful, and provided with leaders.

The writer has elsewhere pointed out that “labor is organized primarily because it is vitally interested in the amount, method, and time of remuneration for the labor of wage earners.” The individual, unorganized wage earner cannot hope to drive an equitable bargain with capital aggregated into corporations. The rise of labor organizations parallels the evolution of large-scale industry. The union combines the units in the field of labor ; the corporation combines the units in the realm of capital. To refuse to recognize the right of labor to organize into unions and at the same time to favor the organization of corporations and of employers’ associations, is illogical ; and such an attitude offers conclusive evidence of bias and prejudice. It is true that labor organizations, and corporations also, often use unfair, dictatorial, and cruel methods. But this is not a sufficient reason for demanding the elimination of either.

2. The Structure of Labor Organizations.—American labor organizations vary greatly in government, policies, methods, and ideals. Some, like the aristocrats of organized labor, the brotherhood of locomotive engineers, rarely use the strike, and manifest little interest in the

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closed shop or in apprenticeship rules ; others, like the coal miners, are insistent in regard to the closed shop ; and the unionists of the building trades emphasize the importance of the strike. The cigar makers have inaugurated a successful and considerable system of benefits for members who are sick, disabled, or out of work. Some unions use the strike frequently, others rarely ; certain unions are radical, others are conservative. In the case of some organizations, the locals are nearly self-governing ; in other unions the national organization exercises a large amount of supervision over the locals.

The policies and methods employed by labor organizations have been developed, as was the unwritten English constitution, in a piecemeal manner. As different organizations have met with very different obstacles and have developed under very different circumstances, this variation in structure is normal. In general, immediate results have been demanded of their leaders by the rank and file of unionists. And the peculiarities of union structure have been evolved under the pressure of an opportunist policy. The successful leader of the strong American labor organizations is an exponent of "business unionism" ; he is the man who can get higher wages, shorter hours, or other concessions for the members of his union. It has been observed that each country gets the agitators it deserves ; likewise each country and each industry develops the type of labor organization it deserves. The

peculiarities of structure and the methods employed by a particular labor organization are the outgrowth of the particular conditions and balance of forces in the particular industry concerned.

3. Trade and Industrial Unions.—In spite of the many and important variations among labor organizations, two quite distinct classes may be discerned :—trade or craft, and industrial unions. The trade or craft union is the older form and is especially adapted to the organization of workers in a skilled trade. Into a trade union are organized only workers belonging to one trade or craft as, for example, carpenters or printers. In a local of the International Typographical Union are found printers from different printing-offices in a city or town. The pressmen and lithographers in a given establishment do not belong to the same union as the printers. The latter may have a dispute with their employers and go on a strike ; but the pressmen may continue at work and work with “scab” printers brought in as strike breakers. The trade or craft rather than the establishment is the unit.

The industrial union recognizes the establishment or plant as the fundamental unit. Into an industrial union are gathered all the workers, skilled and unskilled, working in a given establishment. The brewery workers and the coal miners are organized as industrial unions. All workers in and around the mines are organized in the United Mine Workers' Union. The Industrial

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Workers of the World represent a radical or revolutionary type of industrial unionism. When a labor dispute arises in connection with an industrial union, all workers in the plant are directly affected and interested. A strike on the part of a well-organized industrial union will tie up the entire establishment.

4. **The American Federation of Labor.**—The most inclusive American labor organization of to-day is the American Federation of Labor. This organization, as its name indicates, is a federation of unions. Individual unionists have little or no direct connection with it. In 1912, the American Federation was composed of five departments, 112 national or international unions, 41 state federations, 560 city central bodies, 434 local trade unions, and 156 federal labor unions. The five departments were the building trades, mining, railway employees, metal trades, and union label trades. Nearly all of the important national or international unions belong to the Federation. The railway brotherhoods, the Bricklayers and Masons' Union, and the National Association of Letter Carriers are among the important unions outside the Federation.

The American Federation of Labor is controlled by the national and international unions, and the departments are also controlled by the national unions. In the annual convention of 1911, the voting strength of the national unions was 17,104 out of a total vote of 17,240. The total paid-up membership of the American Fed-

eration in September, 1913, was 2,054,526. This is somewhat less than the total membership of the unions affiliated because some of the locals are "tax dodgers," and report less than their actual membership. There are probably not more than 600,000 or 700,000 American unionists outside the American Federation of Labor. The great bulk of the revenues of the Federation are derived from per capita assessments upon the affiliated bodies. Samuel Gompers is the president of the organization, and John Mitchell was, until January, 1914, one of its vice-presidents.

The American Federation is not a powerful body exercising considerable authority over the federated bodies. "According to its constitution, the chief purposes of the American Federation of Labor are to knit the national and international labor unions together for mutual assistance, to encourage the sale of union label articles, to secure legislation favorable to the interests of the working people, to influence public opinion in favor of organized labor, to aid and encourage the labor press, and to aid in the formation of local unions."¹

5. **Affiliated Branches of the American Federation of Labor.**—The primary unit in labor organizations is the "local." In a trade union, a local is composed of workers in a given trade, living in one locality. These locals usually belong in turn to a national (sometimes called

¹ Carlton, "History and Problems of Organized Labor," pp. 79-80.

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international) union. A national union is a federation of locals. The locals of carpenters belong to a national union of carpenters. In some unions the national organization is very powerful and controls and directs the locals; in others the locals are strong and may strike or adopt certain policies without reference to the national union. In the industrial unions, like the United Mine Workers, various craftsmen may be brought together in one local. This was the method employed by the Knights of Labor.

Locals may also be grouped into state and city federations. The work of these bodies is chiefly political and educational. They exercise little direct control over the activities of the locals. A local in a trade which as yet has no national union may be directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A federal union is a mixed local union in which men of different trades are brought together. It is a temporary expedient only. As soon as a sufficient number of one trade are recruited, a local of that trade should be formed. A local may belong to a national union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It may also belong to a state and city federation, both of which may likewise be affiliated with the American Federation. And the national union to which it belongs may be connected with a department of the Federation.

6. The Industrial Workers of the World.—The American Federation of Labor accepts the present capitalistic system; the Industrial Work-

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ers of the World is a socialist and revolutionary organization. The latter aims to eliminate the capitalist and the present wage system. Craft or trade lines are obliterated in this radical labor organization. In a given establishment all wage earners would be grouped in one or more locals irrespective of the kind of work performed. The organization has a central executive committee and holds an annual convention. The membership of the Industrial Workers of the World is small and fluctuating. Its strength lies in its passionate appeal to class hatred and to the solidarity of the wage earners. Its strength is found in its destructive power, rather than in any constructive program.

The Industrial Workers are at present divided into two branches, each of which claims to be the original and genuine organization. The Detroit branch is closely connected with the Socialist Labor Party, and emphasizes the importance of organization in the political as well as the industrial field. The Chicago branch is the more aggressive and widely known. It seems to have little confidence in political action, and exhibits some of the earmarks of anarchism. The leaders of the Chicago branch are advocates of direct action, the mass strike, sabotage, and other strenuous practices. Sabotage is a word of somewhat uncertain meaning ranging from wrecking industrial plants and railways to diluting the efficiency of a plant by a system of concerted soldiering, or by rigid obedience to the exact

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letter of all orders. Sabotage might mean that the shipping clerks of a manufacturing establishment would deliberately and concertedly mis-send goods, or that the cooks and waiters in a hotel would put unpalatable substances in the food served.

7. The Future of Industrial Unionism.—The trend of industrial evolution indicates that industrial unionism will grow in strength relative to trade or craft unionism. The friends of the former assert that it adapts itself to the conditions of modern industry. Trade unionism was the form adapted to small-scale industry; but the growth of large-scale business tends to make it an out-of-date form of organization. As machinery destroys trades and makes certain forms of skilled work useless, trade or craft unionism is weakened and the “one big union” grows in potential strength. The employing corporation of to-day employs a multitude of workers, skilled and unskilled; and union organization should, it is urged, parallel the organization of the plant. The old-line trade union cannot successfully cope with the giant trust of to-day. The largest and, perhaps, the strongest national union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is an industrial union,—the United Mine Workers. The two forms of unions, trade and industrial, might exist side by side. Stationary engineers, working for a coal mining company, might belong to both the United Mine Workers and the Inter-

national Union of Steam Engineers. The Industrial Workers of the World is an extreme and radical type of industrial unionism which, of course, is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In the industrial union the unskilled men are in the majority. To the unskilled industrial unionist, the solidarity of labor is a real, living ideal. Industrial demarkation, jurisdictional disputes, and even racial antipathies tend to disappear under the potent influence of the union card of the industrial unionist. The growth of industrial unionism, evolved because of extreme subdivision of labor and the increase of the unskilled and the machine tenders, relative to the old-line craftsmen, is bringing the nation to the threshold of a new era in unionism. The skilled are now finding it to their advantage to amalgamate and fraternize with the unskilled. They are beginning to realize that a depressed stratum of workers is a menace to the skilled and relatively well-paid workers. Professor Patten finds industrial unionism to be a great force for uniting all grades of labor. "Utilitarian in its motive, and passionately selfish in its singleness and intensity of purpose, it has a social and ethical significance that is without parallel in the institutions of democracy: it is the first great coalition of the economic powers of the basal men and the high-grade, skilled workers."

8. Employers' Associations.—An employers' association is the trade union of employers.

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It is organized to advance the interests of employers and to resist the aggressions of labor organizations. Employers' associations often resort to practices similar to those of labor organizations. For the strike, they use the lock-out, instead of the boycott is used the blacklist, instead of pickets are used spies and armed guards. The National Association of Manufacturers is the American Federation of Labor of the employers. An establishment is a local; and there are state employers' associations and city associations. Dues and special assessments are paid by the firms affiliated; and defense funds are accumulated.

Employers' associations may be divided into two general types. The first and more conservative type recognizes labor organizations to be legitimate. Trade agreements in regard to wages, hours, and the conditions of employment are made from time to time between associations of the first type and the organizations of employees. The Stove Founders' Defense Association and the association of soft coal mine operators are fine examples of this sort of employers' associations. In these two industries, strong and sane employers' associations confront well-organized labor unions. Collective bargaining on a large scale has been utilized, and for the strike is substituted the trade agreement and arbitration. The possibility of serious labor disputes in these industries is not eliminated, but the probability of such troubles is reduced.

The second class of employers' associations is bitterly antagonistic to labor organizations, or at least to labor organizations which are strong and virile. The members favor labor organizations of the weak type which teach contentment with existing conditions. The writer has elsewhere contrasted the two as follows: "The first type aims to check the abuses and excesses of organized labor; the second is hostile to the fundamental principles of unionism and wishes to extirpate or emasculate unionism." The National Association of Manufacturers and its affiliated associations are of the second type. The class consciousness of the members of this association is a marked phenomenon. The reiterated assertions that "We intend to run our own business" and "There is nothing to arbitrate," sound like voices from the distant past. The hatred of the leaders for the average unionist and his organization is portentous of future class conflicts. The following from the lips of a former president of the Association leaves no room for compromise or conciliation. It is a savage appeal to arms. "No organization of men, not excepting the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia, or the Black Hand Society, has ever produced such a record of barbarism as has this so-called organized labor society which through misdirected sympathy, apathy, and indifference, has been permitted to grow up to cripple our industries, and to trample in the dust the natural and constitutional rights of our citizens." And this

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attack is directed against the American Federation of Labor, not against the Industrial Workers of the World.

9. **The Effect of the Antagonism between Employers' Associations and Labor Organizations.**—The bitter and short-sighted antagonism of employers' associations and of certain large trusts is forcing organized labor to become aggressive and to adopt new policies or suffer disintegration. The worst episode in the recent history of labor organizations, the McNamara affair, arose in connection with a labor organization which was indirectly confronted in a life and death struggle by the United States Steel Corporation or interests closely affiliated with it. Hostile court decisions such as the Danbury Hatters' case and those connected with the prosecution of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, the highest officials of the American Federation of Labor, are also leading conservative unionists to question the efficiency of the time-honored methods of bargaining, striking, and boycotting. Six years ago Professor Commons reached the conclusion that "it does not seem likely, when a corporation has reached the position of a trust, that unionism will get a footing, no matter how class-conscious the workmen have become." In spite of repeated efforts labor organizations have been unable to gain a foothold in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation.

When confronted by great obstacles in the form of hostile corporations whose policy is to

destroy unionism not to treat with union representatives, certain labor organizations have deliberately turned to violence and dynamiting. Their leaders knowing of no legitimate methods other than those used by the old-line trade unions, and seeing only destruction ahead, adopted the cruel and primitive method of terrorism. And, it must also be said, employers have also, on occasion, grasped the same weapon,—of which the recent labor difficulties in the coal-mining industry of West Virginia bear eloquent testimony. Another type of workers have turned to the idea of a mass union or syndicalism emphasizing the general strike, sabotage, and the overthrow of the capitalist and the wage system. The syndicalist does not believe in arbitration or trade agreements. "There is nothing nice or polite" about the program of the syndicalist. Syndicalism, represented in this country by the radicals of the Industrial Workers of the World, spells anarchy rather than democracy.

A third, and a very important and increasing, group when confronted by bitter opposition, and after learning that victories on the economic field are to be few and far between, is turning to the political field. A portion of this class is trying to elect labor representatives through the old parties. The more radical and class-conscious portion is turning to the Socialist Party. The returns from political action are less immediate, personal, and tangible than those derived as the

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result of action in the economic field. And for a labor organization to turn from the economic field in which its successes have been gained to the untried political field, indicates that the opposition is formidable, and that class consciousness among the workers is developing.

10. **The Advance Agent of Radical Unionism.**—It is folly for employers' associations to expect permanently to eliminate labor organizations. The conservation of labor organizations, not their destruction, is desirable. To destroy the organizations of the better class now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would be a great national calamity because organizations of the revolutionary type would inevitably replace those destroyed. Sabotage, violence, and industrial warfare would replace collective bargaining and strikes which are conducted in a relatively peaceful manner. The revolutionary mass union would become the dominant type of unionism.

The employer who arbitrarily and scornfully refuses to recognize the union or to treat collectively with his employees, is an excellent promoter of radical, uncompromising unionism which rejects trade agreements and stands for sabotage and the social revolution. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has described the option open to employers. "The problem now resolves itself into a question of what kind of organization they wish to deal with,—a responsible union employing business methods, or organizations unwilling to make and

keep contracts, unwilling to promote individual restraint and collective discipline, fearing to give the workers any present relief lest their despair and misery be lessened and utopian possibilities lose their charm." The proud, imperious employers, ignorant of industrial history, are often the best advance agents of radical unionism and of syndicalism.

SUMMARY

The labor organization is a product of modern industrial development.

Labor organizations differ greatly in structure, methods and ideals. The peculiarities of union structure have evolved under the pressure of an opportunist policy.

The trade union is older and more conservative than the industrial union. The latter is patterned after the organization of industrial plants.

The American Federation of Labor is a federation composed chiefly of national unions.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a socialistic organization of wage workers.

Industrial unionism is likely to gain upon trade unionism.

Employers' associations use policies quite similar to those of labor organizations.

The bitter antagonism of certain employers' associations is forcing labor organizations to adopt direct-action methods.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

Has any group or organization connected with your church studied the problems of organized labor ?

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How extensively is labor organized in your community? Employers?

What is the attitude of employers in your community towards labor organizations?

What is being done to bring about a better understanding between employers and employees?

IX

INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT

VOLUNTARY Action on the Part of Employers.—The bulk of the proposals for industrial betterment may be classified into four groups :—voluntary action on the part of employers, the pressure of organized labor, legislative activity, and the organization of consumers. In order to achieve the best results social action should proceed simultaneously along each of the four lines. The general public can take an active part in promoting proposals classified under the third and fourth groups. Employers may improve industrial conditions for one or both of two reasons,—because of humanitarian sentiments entertained by them, and because of a desire to obtain a higher degree of efficiency in their business. The first has not as yet proven strong enough, except in a comparatively small number of cases, to be effective. The pressure of competition often forces employers to adopt methods which they abhor. The problem is that of the “twentieth man.” If nineteen retail merchants out of twenty in a small city are willing to close their stores in the evening, the twentieth man may prevent such action by refusing to act in unison with the

others. Many employers subjected to the stress of competition feel that they are unable to improve conditions in their stores or factories because of anticipated increased costs. If their competitors do not adopt the same methods, voluntarily or otherwise, they fear, and often with reason, the disastrous effects of competition.

In the case of corporations having more or less monopoly power and a considerable amount of watered stock, the insistent demand of absentee stockholders for dividends often produces practically the same effect as the pressure of competition. The improvement of working conditions because of the humanitarian sentiments of the employer is, therefore, seriously interfered with by the demand for dividends and profits, and by the stern pressure of competition. Philanthropy likewise offers no important program for industrial betterment.

In recent years, many corporations are coming to believe that the efficiency of their plant depends in a large measure upon the working and living conditions surrounding their employees. As a consequence, many corporations are improving the sanitary conditions in stores and factories and introducing what is commonly called welfare work. Some employers frankly admit that they have taken these steps as a business proposition, to increase the efficiency of their workers, to make the latter more contented, and, consequently, to increase the profits of the company. It may be noted that a corpora-

tion which is well established, which looks forward to continued corporate existence for a long period of years, and which considers its business to be on a permanent footing, has greater incentives to liberal and kindly treatment of employees than has an ephemeral business. The well-established business must look far into the future. It is interested in the probable character of the labor force a generation hence. Immediate profits are in a measure subordinated to the prospect of continued and future profits. Nevertheless, the employee is still considered to be a producing machine. Leisure, recreation, and a safe and sanitary working environment are desirable from the employer's view-point because they tend to increase the efficiency of the working force of the business, and to increase the profits derived therefrom. This point of view is quite different from that of the employee who considers his work as a means to a very different end. There are quite obvious limitations to industrial betterment through voluntary action on the part of employers. Competition and the demand for immediate profits often operate adversely. And under the most favorable circumstances, voluntary action on the part of employers is paternalistic, and therefore more or less distasteful to many classes of employees.

2. **The Pressure of Organized Labor.**—Employees banded together in a labor organization are able to bargain with their employer more nearly on a plane of equality than can the indi-

vidual, unorganized worker. As was indicated in a preceding chapter, organized labor may raise wages within certain somewhat indefinite limits, but trade union action cannot directly and effectively attack monopoly profits or land rents. Most students of labor problems agree, however, that organized labor has been a direct and potent factor in raising the rate of wages, in reducing the length of the working day, and in improving working conditions. In the present industrial situation, labor organized is labor in its normal form. Organized labor is essential to a fair and equitable wage bargain. But the part played by organized labor in industrial betterment has certain very definite limitations.

3. **Legislative Action.**—The great third party, the general public, takes a hand in industrial betterment through legislative action. Both employers and employees also use their influence as individuals or as organizations to obtain legislation. Legislative acts in connection with industry are passed under the pressure of at least three interests,—labor, capital, and the general public. Through legislative action uniform regulations may be established affecting alike all employers and employees within a given class or group. By means of legislative action, a new limit may be fixed beyond which competition is no longer allowed to force an employer or an employee. A child labor law, for example, prohibits all employers in certain lines of industry from employing children below a certain age.

All employers, humane and otherwise, are thus placed on the same footing in this one phase of competition. A minimum wage law narrows the competitive sphere. The humane employer can no longer be forced by the pressure of an unscrupulous competitor to pay starvation wages or go out of business. The latter is precluded by law from paying starvation wages. The purpose of industrial legislation is to place limitations upon private property rights, to establish limits to the competitive field, and to regulate monopolistic businesses. Legislative action may end "jungle" or "tooth-and-claw" competition, and establish the limits beyond which monopolists are not allowed to go. Some of the chief forms of labor legislation are:—in regard to the hours of labor, sanitary conditions and safety appliances, workingmen's compensation in case of accident, sickness insurance, old age pensions, the minimum wage, and industrial training.

4. **Organization of Consumers.**—Practically all individuals are consumers of products produced by wage earners. Therefore, practically everybody is directly interested in the character of the articles produced in our industrial establishments, and also in the conditions under which these articles are produced, transported, and sold. The consumers are everywhere, but organizations of consumers are difficult to form and to make effective agents. It is so difficult for the average individual to picture the evils of the sweat-shop, the unclean bakery, or the foul cannery ; and the

cheap product attracts the bargain hunter. The National Consumers' League has been organized to fight sweat-shops and stores conducted under "unfair" conditions. Stores and manufactories in which the labor laws are obeyed, and operating with proper care as to purity of product, cleanliness, and sanitary conditions, are placed upon the "white list" of the League and are allowed to use the label of the League. The trade union label is placed on many articles made by trade unionists.

Small local groups of consumers could accomplish much in the way of improving the quality of goods by refusing to purchase of storekeepers who violate labor laws or the regulations in regard to health and cleanliness, and by refusing to purchase goods which are not produced under proper conditions. Intelligent, aggressive, and united action on the part of even small groups can accomplish much. The sweater, the adulterator, and the maker of shoddy goods are eager to make profits; it is to make profits that they enter upon such nefarious businesses. If only a small number of consumers would steadfastly refuse to purchase their output, they would mend their ways. Inspection, publicity, united action, and a reasonably stiff back-bone, are powerful forces making for betterment. The organization of the earnest, humanity-loving men and women of each community into local pure food committees and civic leagues is very desirable. Definite, coöperative action may in this manner be ob-

tained. Such organizations should be potent factors in publicity work, and in the enactment and enforcement of laws relating to the health and morals of the community.

5. **Public Opinion.**—Industrial betterment in the last analysis depends in no small measure upon the force of public opinion. If public opinion can be crystallized against night work for women and children, the seven-day week, the sweat-shop, the starvation wage, and the fire-trap tenement, these evils will soon disappear. Public opinion has ostracized the thug, the poisoner, and the red-handed murderer; but we only mildly disapprove of the adulterator, the employer of child labor, the man who pays starvation wages, and the man who refuses to install safety devices and fire-escapes in his shop, factory or store. Such as these are, however, the most dangerous men of to-day. "Your up-to-date criminal," writes Professor Ross, "presses the button of a social mechanism, and at the other end of the land or the year innocent lives are snuffed out." It takes imagination and knowledge vividly to visualize the new kinds of crime. Public opinion has not as yet focussed its disapproval upon the men who commit dispassionate and long-distance crimes for profits. We need a new test of citizenship,—a test which is a social rather than a purely individual test. We need a kind of imagination which will vivify distant deeds, and dastardly deeds which are not spectacular or blood-curdling.

6. **Industrial Control.**—Industrial betterment is also dependent upon industrial control. A few centuries ago the dominant form of government was autocratic. Political power was conceived to be the birthright of the few. The great mass of people were not considered to be capable of participating in government. To-day in theory at least in the United States, autocracy has been replaced by democracy,—a government of, by, and for the people. In the industrial world, the owner of the capital invested in the business has been the autocrat. It was the theory, barring stealing and contract breaking, that a man should be allowed to operate his business, buy or sell, hire and discharge, in the manner which, in his judgment, seemed best. The government ought to keep hands off; and no employee should be allowed in any way to dictate or even to suggest how the business in which he was expending his labor power should be operated. These were fundamentals in the creed of business absolutism which now is being discredited.

Nearly all Americans to-day are willing to concede that business absolutism has its dangers. But, if the business autocrat be benevolent, may not the resultant form be highly successful and desirable? The benevolent business man may introduce welfare work, profit sharing, and old age pensions; he may give liberally to libraries, hospitals and Christmas entertainments. Withal the benevolent employer may be a capable and kindly industrial despot. The crucial indict-

ment which may be brought against him is that he is not responsible to the mass of the people or to his own employees. To-day, great financial and industrial power is concentrated in the hands of men nearly as independent of the public will as was Louis XIV of France or Catharine of Russia.

The industrial world is emerging from the era of industrial autocracy. The regulation of big industries is one of the methods of reducing autocratic power in the industrial field. Regulation of industry is in reality the first step towards state socialism. Private property rights are diluted by the regulation imposed from without. Regulation of industry in the United States is still on trial; but it seems probable that more industries will be obliged to submit to governmental regulations, and that more and more stringent regulations may be applied. Governmental fixation of prices is likely to come first in regard to some article supplied by a local monopoly such as milk or ice. If regulation does not measure up to the expectations of the American people, a movement towards government ownership or state socialism, or towards some form of industrial democracy may be expected. Of course, government ownership and operation do not differ greatly from extremely rigid regulation.

State socialism is in reality a form of autocratic control of industry. A majority of the citizens of the community or nation are substituted for

the private corporation or individual owner. The workers have no voice in the management of the business except as voters. Our post-office system is an example of state socialism. Industrial democracy grants to the workers in the business a large measure of control in regard to the management of the business. A coöperative factory is an example of industrial democracy. The socialists look forward to a form of industrial democracy. The trade agreement system in which employers treat with their organized employees, and thus determine many of the conditions under which the business is to be operated, is a compromise between industrial democracy and autocracy. The best illustration of this system is found in the soft coal mining industry. Industrial autocracy is doomed. To ignore both the general public and the employees will no longer be possible. Four alternative methods of controlling industry are possible and practicable : —regulation, government ownership or state socialism, trade agreements, and coöperation or some other form of industrial democracy.

7. **The Proposals of the Single Taxers.**—The many-headed program of social workers for industrial betterment is not acceptable to certain more radical groups of men. The single tax program has a double significance. It proposes a method of getting revenue for the government, and also a scheme for the elimination of poverty. The thoroughgoing advocates of the single tax propose that all of the economic rent of land be

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taken by the government in the form of a land tax, and that no other tax of any kind be levied. The selling value of the land, not including improvements, would be reduced to zero, and men could no longer afford to hold land which they did not use. According to the theory of the single tax, monopoly and great economic inequalities arise out of the private receipt of land rents. Place all men on an equality in regard to access to land and competition will then have fair play, argue the single taxers. They desire to continue, not to destroy competition. Henry George, the great American advocate of the single tax, set for himself the task of discovering why with progress continues poverty. His conclusion was that the fundamental cause of poverty and economic injustice was bound up in the receipt of land rent by private individuals. Divert land rent to public coffers and remove all other forms of taxes, and, according to Henry George and his followers, poverty will vanish. Land now held out of use for speculative purposes would, after the introduction of the single tax, immediately be utilized, or at least released from the grip of the speculator.

Without going to the extreme advocated by Henry George, it seems reasonable to argue that taking the tax off from buildings, machinery, and personal property, and correspondingly increasing the tax on land, will tend to increase the number of buildings erected and the amount of machinery utilized. Bad housing is now

recognized as a serious social evil. The demand for houses outruns the supply of good and sanitary houses. We now penalize the man who builds a residence or an apartment house by taxing his building. If the tax on buildings were removed and the builder no longer penalized for improving his property and benefiting the city, more buildings would be built. By placing an added tax on land we would also stimulate the land owner to erect more buildings. And when landlords compete fiercely for tenants the man with poor insanitary buildings goes without tenants. A potent incentive is given the former to improve their property,—more potent and searching than housing regulations. The experience of certain cities in Southwestern Canada tends to prove the validity of this thesis. No student of social reform should neglect to study the theory and art of taxation.

8. **The Proposals of the Socialists.**—Socialists propose to improve conditions by eliminating the private receipt of rent, interest, and profits. All large-scale industries are to be owned and operated by the community collectively. Socialists stand for political and industrial democracy. They do not, as do the single taxers, emphasize the importance of competition; they point out that competition is wasteful. These enthusiasts for radical social reform declare that competition leads to combination and large-scale industry; and when an industry becomes large-scale it is held to be ripe for social control. Ac-

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According to the socialists, society is outgrowing private capitalism as it has outgrown slavery or feudalism. Nevertheless, under socialism it is assumed that the private ownership of many forms of wealth would be continued. Under capitalism, the socialists insist, the wage earners are exploited. From their point of view, the private capitalist is an unnecessary evil. The socialists hold high a fine ideal of economic justice and of equality of opportunity. In 1912, the Socialist Party polled about 900,000 votes. In the immediate future, socialism is a force to be reckoned with ; and all students of human society should carefully and calmly study the literature of scientific socialism. The denunciations of many ignorant opponents of socialism are worse than futile.

9. **The City vs. the Rural Districts.**—Some Americans insist that industrial betterment can come only after the rush of men and women towards the cities is stopped. From time to time back-to-the-land movements are started, and plans are formulated for the distribution of immigrants in the farming districts. "Three acres and liberty" is typical of some of the theorizing upon the subject of rural independence and simplicity. But the trend towards the cities cannot be stopped by utopian theorizing, it continues. And the same motives which lead native Americans to go to the cities tend to keep the immigrant there. Can we expect the immigrant to go to the rural districts at a time when the

natives are deserting the farm for the city? The city is a "high speed social-transformer." It is a "learn-while-you-wait-school" in which immigrants learn American ways and language.

Unfortunately we have our eyes turned in the wrong direction. "We laud country life when we should strive for the improvement of the cities." Americans should cease bewailing the rise of cities and the depopulation of the rural districts. Our attention should be turned towards making our cities beautiful and healthful, and towards reducing the isolation and monotony of life in the rural districts. Positive social action is needed. The indications are that in the future the demarkations between rural and urban will grow less and less pronounced. The predominant type of the future will not be urban or rural; it will be suburban.

Industrial betterment and improved conditions in our cities must include better and more wholesome facilities for recreation. The routine, regularity, and monotony of work ought to be balanced by joyous and uplifting amusements. "The spirit of play which keeps human beings young is very early atrophied in the specialized labor of this day." Too many workers of to-day do not know how to play; debauchery and hoodlumism typify their concept of a good time. The American people are just awakening to the value of directed amusements. The time is not far distant when municipalities will provide recreation facilities for old and young as they now provide facilities

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for education of the ordinary type. The traditional attitude of the Christian churches has been to repress or to ignore the desire for recreation. It is high time a new policy was adopted; and the Y. M. C. A. and a few churches are doing creditable pioneer work. But the reactionary who favors nothing that is new is still to be reckoned with. Let us keep before our eyes those splendid words of Professor Patten: "Vice must first be fought by welfare, not by restraint; and society is not safe until to-day's pleasures are stronger than its temptations. . . . Amusement is stronger than vice and can stifle the lust of it."

10. **The Church and Industrial Betterment.**—What light does a brief study of the Industrial Situation throw upon the work of the Christian churches? It has been noted that, as a consequence of industrial changes, the functions of the home, the school, and the government have undergone considerable modifications. Is it reasonable to expect the Church to remain unaffected? The Church is an institution and, as such, is affected by institutional inertia. The Church as a great and powerful institution was evolved, made strong, and crystallized in an era preceding the recent revolutionary changes in industrial activities. Consequently, it is logical to infer that many methods which were excellent a generation or two ago may be ineffective or inefficient at the present time. For example, in the days when families lived in comparative isolation

and when reading material was not abundant, the Church, the minister, and the sermon served a purpose which is to-day performed in part by other agencies. All thinking men and women recognize that the Church is a powerful social institution. But are its leaders tackling these problems of adjustment as seriously as is desirable? Can the potent influence of this great institution be efficiently, and without considerable friction and lost motion, directed towards industrial betterment, towards improving the lot of the working classes? Can the influence of the Church be so directed as to bring the heavy weight of its disapproval upon those who break labor laws, adulterate food products, and pay starvation wages? Can we place regard for social welfare alongside of "personal correctness" as a requisite of Christian character? These are some of the vital questions which the followers of the Carpenter must answer and answer correctly. The young men and young women of the Church can do much for its future by studying in this era of transformation the industrial situation,—its effect upon men and women, and upon the functions of social institutions. And this study should be undertaken in the scientific spirit,—it should be a searching after truth.

As a matter of fact, our churches are finding it difficult to reach and to help the wage earners of to-day. Yet all Christians are followers of a working man. Correctly or incorrectly, no inconsiderable percentage of American wage earners

think that the Church is not in sympathy with them. They note that it is supported in a large measure by contributions made by the wealthy and the employing class. The working men feel, and often for good and sufficient reasons, that the Church as an institution does not look with favor upon the activities of labor organizations. Only a short time ago the writer listened to an attack, made by one of the most prominent clergymen of the Middle West, upon certain wage earners' movements. The nature of the address proved conclusively either that the speaker was ignorant of the aspirations and ideals back of the labor movement, or that he was hopelessly biased and prejudiced. Men of this type are destroying the prestige and influence of the Church among the wage workers of the nation. They are leading the working man to feel that the Church represents what has been called "Churchianity," not Christianity.

SUMMARY

Many well-established businesses are introducing welfare work in their plants; but welfare work has obvious limitations.

Organized labor through collective bargaining may raise wages and improve working conditions; but trade-union action cannot directly and effectively attack monopoly profits or land rents.

Through legislative action the competitive field may be narrowed.

Organizations of consumers may accomplish much in improving the quality of products and the working conditions; but again there are very

obvious limitations to this plan of industrial betterment.

A new test of citizenship is needed in the twentieth century.

The industrial world is emerging from the era of industrial autocracy.

Both single taxers and socialists aim to eliminate special privileges and economic injustice.

The future American type of civilization is to be suburban. The problems centering around proper recreational facilities are vital to social betterment.

The Church is not efficiently directing its powerful influence towards industrial betterment.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

What percentage of the membership of your church are wage earners ?

What percentage of the employees of the shops, factories and stores of your community are in sympathy with the churches of the community ?

Is your pastor a student of modern sociological problems ?

Has a social survey been made of your community ?

Is your church coöperating with the board of health, the anti-tuberculosis society, or other agencies interested in the health of men, women and children living in your community and state ?

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